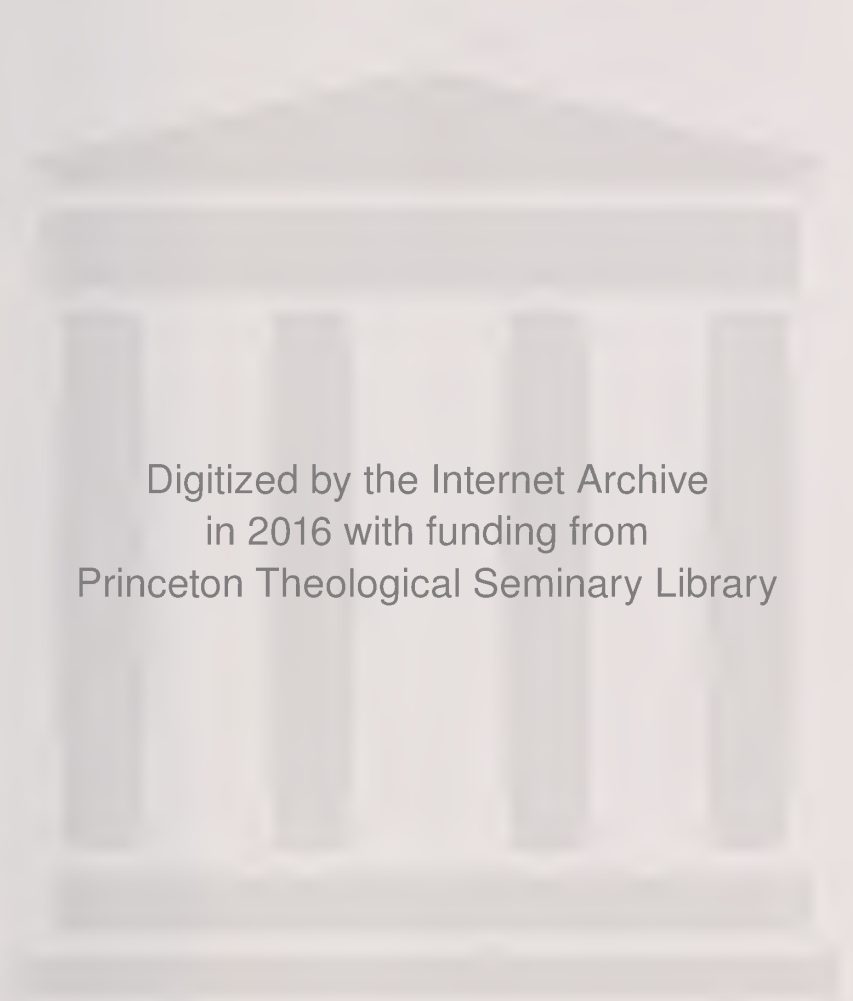




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THE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW.

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I.

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND THE TRUTHFULNESS OF BIBLE HISTORY.*

IT will be generally agreed that the above subject has the merit of timeliness. For some time past the assertion has been made, and it is being made in our own day with greater confidence and insistence than ever, that our Christian faith and historical facts have very little or nothing to do with each other. Most frequently this assertion is made with reference to some one particular event of Sacred History, which has for the time being become the subject of debate from the point of view of its historicity. Those who incline to doubt the historical truthfulness of some such narrative as, *e.g.*, that of the supernatural birth or the resurrection of the Saviour, or at least incline to consider it an open question, are, when their skepticism awakens remonstrance from the conservative side, ever ready with the answer that Christianity is something too great and too deep, too inward, ideal and vital to be dependent in its essence on this or that single occurrence in the world of history. They protest that their own faith lives far superior to the level where such questions are discussed and decided, as to whether Christ was supernaturally conceived by the Virgin Mary or rose bodily from the grave on the third day. And they are not slow to make their own subjective faith in this matter the standard of

* Address delivered at the Religious Conference held in Princeton, October 10-12, 1905.

what is possible to Christian faith in its essence. But, while most commonly asserted with reference to such single facts, the position tends, from the nature of the case, to become a general one, involving the severance of the Christian faith from the historical facts in the widest sense. For, even if no other considerations came into play, the circumstance that the facts from which faith has thus begun to emancipate itself are not subordinate, but the great cardinal facts of Sacred History, leads straightway to the inference: if these facts are not essential, if the Christianity of the heart can subsist and flourish without them, then assuredly the mass of minor historical events may be considered as of next to no importance. He who has once become reconciled to the idea that perhaps the resurrection-account arose from a delusion of the disciples, or that the story of the Virgin-birth was the product of pagan conceptions, and thinks that his practical religion has suffered no loss through familiarity with such an idea, is not apt overmuch to vex his soul with the question, whether Abraham ever emigrated from Ur of the Chaldees, or whether the walls of Jericho fell down at the sound of the trumpets. Thus people are gradually made ripe for the conviction that Christianity can survive, even though the whole substratum of history, on which hitherto it has been supposed to rest, should be withdrawn from under it. Twenty-five years ago, this would have seemed to most a glaring paradox; at present it has become in many circles one of the dull commonplaces of religious opinion. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the subject of the relation between Christian faith and the truthfulness of Bible history is a timely subject to consider, not for abstract theological reasons merely, but even more so for eminently practical reasons touching the vital interests of the religion of the heart. We propose to deal with the subject by putting and briefly answering three questions:

(1) What causes are operating to spread this opinion, that Christian faith is in its essence independent of historical facts?

(2) What difference must it make to the content and nature of Christianity, whether it be considered necessarily connected with historical facts or the opposite?

(3) What is the general Biblical teaching on the question whether Christianity is thus dependent on or independent of historical facts?

In the first place, then, we ask: What causes are operating to spread this opinion, that Christianity is in its essence independent of historical facts? Under the head of this question undoubtedly

the first place should be given to the remarkable development of historical criticism. Our age prides itself upon being preëminently the age of historical research. Nor is this a vain boast. More than in any previous period the records of the past are made the object of thorough, painstaking investigation. And what is most characteristic of this modern development of the study of history is, that it possesses in a high degree the prime ingredient of the historical spirit, the faculty to throw itself back into the subjective mind of the past, to read and understand the conditions and developments of former times not in terms of the present, but in the terms of those who were the living actors and makers of the history itself. We have reason to congratulate ourselves, not merely as cultivated men, but as Christians, that our lot has been cast in an age which thus honors the past by respecting its individuality. The kind of rationalism which ruled supreme more than one hundred years ago was sadly lacking in this very respect. It investigated not for the purpose of appreciating the mind of former generations, but only to expose after a schoolmasterly fashion the crudeness and folly of the ideas cherished by the past. The present age has, at least in the sphere of history, divested itself of this magisterial air. Whatever we may be in other departments of science, as historians we are more humble and less self-centred. We do not feel confident of being in the absolute possession of pure reason, and no longer identify history with the irrational or relative as such. And who would deny that great gains have accrued to our knowledge of revelation and Scripture from this growth of the true historical spirit? It has enabled students of the Word of God to lay aside their preconceptions and prejudices, to steep themselves in the atmosphere which enveloped the truth when it came fresh from heaven, to assume that receptive, responsive frame of mind which, if anywhere, is needed in appropriating a revelation of God. We know immeasurably more in result of the work of the last century than we would otherwise do of the conditions and circumstances under which the supernatural truth of God made its first appearance among men, and in consequence immeasurably more also of the everlasting content and purport of this truth. Nay, one can go farther than this. Even where the historical investigation of the origin and growth of revealed religion and of Scripture has been conducted with a naturalistic bias and with the use of foolish methods—even there God has made the wrath of men to praise Him. We venture to say that the dissection of the Law and the Prophets, absurd though it be in itself, has had the indirect bene-

ficial result of making us more intimately acquainted with the minutest peculiarities of the Word of God than we could have been, had not the necessity of defense, that was laid upon it, compelled Christian scholarship to scrutinize and re-scrutinize the content of Holy Writ, so that not one jot or one tittle escaped investigation. Modern criticism has at least preserved or cured the Church from one fault—the fault of indolence in research with regard to the facts of God’s revealed truth.

Unfortunately, however, there is another side to the matter. The historic spirit has not always worked in harmony with the principles that should govern its operation upon the Word of God. The danger that this might happen was inherent in the new method itself. As already stated, it is the aim of modern historical research to view developments from the inside, to catch the subjective tone and color of a period, to study it preëminently from its human point of view. Applying this to Sacred History and the Scriptures leads almost inevitably to a wrong distribution of the emphasis. In redemption and revelation naturally not the human, subjective side, not the religious views and sentiments of men, stand in the foreground, but the great objective acts and interpositions of God, the history as it is in itself, not as it reflected itself in the mind of man. Facts, rather than the spirit of times or the consciousness of periods, should be here the primary object of investigation. But this imposed a certain restraint upon the trend of modern historical study, and the restraint has not always been exercised. I think we are all to some extent conscious of how much more interesting and congenial it is to study the Bible from the point of view of the human experience of the people of God than from that of the divine procedure of redemption and revelation. Thus, without any necessary evil intent, the facts, the works of God, are relegated to the background, and involuntarily the perception of their importance becomes obscured. If I am not mistaken, the teaching of Sacred History in our Bible classes and Sunday-schools stands to some extent under the influence of this wrong tendency. It does not always sufficiently recognize what is primary and what is secondary in the Bible; it places the emphasis on the human instead of on the divine factor, while, to use the words of the late Dr. Davidson, the Scriptures contain almost exclusively a theology, God being the dominating and creative factor in the relation between Israel and Himself.

But how much more dangerous must such a tendency become when it goes hand in hand with other most powerful forces working

in the same direction. First of all, we are face to face with the fact that the immemorial conflict between naturalism and supernaturalism has, more than ever before, concentrated itself in the field of history. This could not be otherwise, because it is a conflict which always assumes the specific form of whatever mode of thinking is characteristic of the age. Formerly, when the historical spirit was comparatively dormant and the speculative spirit supreme, this fight was largely waged in the philosophical field. Then the question was: Is the supernatural conceivable on the general principles of reason? Now the question is: Is the supernatural necessary according to the empirical data of history? In other words, historical study has become a powerful instrument in the service of the anti-supernaturalistic spirit of the modern age. Professing to be strictly neutral and to seek nothing but the truth it has in point of fact directed its assault along the whole line against the outstanding miraculous events of Sacred History. It has rewritten this history so as to make the supernatural elements disappear from its record. It has called into question the historicity of one after the other of the great redemptive acts of God. We need not say here that the apologetic answer to these attacks has been able and fully satisfactory to every intelligent believer. But the Christian public at large is not always able to distinguish between well-authenticated facts as such and historical constructions in which the facts have been manipulated and their interpretation shaped by *à priori* philosophical principles. People are accustomed to look upon history as the realm of facts *par excellence*, second only to pure science in the absolute certainty of its concrete results. They do not as easily detect in historical argumentation as they would in philosophic reasoning the naturalistic premises which predetermine the conclusions. It is not difficult, therefore, to give the popular mind the impression that it is confronted with an irrefutable array of evidence discrediting the Bible facts, whereas in reality it is asked to accept a certain philosophy of the facts made to discredit the Bible. Hence there has arisen in many quarters a feeling of uneasiness and concern with regard to the historical basis of facts on which Christianity has hitherto been supposed to rest. People have begun to weary of the endless attack and endless defense, and to ask themselves whether it may not after all be possible to escape from the wear and tear of these endless controversies by construing a Christianity which shall be independent of the facts of history. It appears to many a consummation devoutly to be wished to have the highest

interests of the Christian faith on its practical side sheltered in some harbor where they would be absolutely safe, even though without the waves of criticism should sweep away the whole fabric of objective supernatural facts.

It were a mistake, however, to think that historical criticism is the only force driving people in this direction. Equal, if not more, influence must be attributed to the dislike of dogma and theology which is so widespread in our days. The present religious mind has a veritable dread of everything that is not immediately practical or experimental. Faith must be reduced to the most simple and direct terms attainable. In the rush of modern religious activities, in the eagerness to make Christianity keep pace with the secular forces of life in their accelerated and intensified movement, there is a nervous desire to throw overboard everything that can be in any sense considered superfluous ballast to the craft of practical religion. Thus the whole theoretical side of faith has fallen into neglect, and this neglect involves, besides other things, the historic basis of facts. In two ways this is brought about. In the first place, the mere dwelling of the mind upon the facts as such easily assumes the appearance of being so much energy lost. The facts partake of the same objective, impersonal, seemingly religiously indifferent character as do the doctrinal formulas of the creeds. They are no more to be suffered to interpose themselves between the soul and God than the Bible and the church dogma. And in the second place, it is perfectly well understood that, where the great supernatural facts are allowed to enter or to remain as the necessary correlates of faith, that there the doctrines cannot be consistently kept out. For what else are the doctrines but the theological interpretation of the facts? In order to become the proper object of religious contemplation at all, the history must necessarily first pass through this doctrinal alembic. It is safe to say that a Christianity which plants itself squarely upon the foundation of the supernatural history will always be a doctrinal Christianity and *vice versa*. Now from this it follows that a great share of the odium which attaches at the present day to every pronounced and vigorous doctrinal type of faith will inevitably fall upon the type of faith which clings firmly to any historical supernatural support. Hence, as Dr. Ernst Cremer has well observed,* the peculiarity of the present situation is not merely that the facts are neglected, but that in the name and for the sake of the integrity of the Christian faith itself the non-essentialness of the facts is clamorously

* Cfr. *Der Glaube und die Thatsachen in Greifswalder Studien*, pp. 263-283.

insisted upon. It is held that where the facts play a central and necessary part in the psychological process of religious trust, that there faith must lose its purity and power.

The influences so far considered are rather popular and practical in their nature. To these, however, we must add in conclusion the influence of the positivistic philosophy of the times, voicing itself in the theological sphere through the Ritschlian school. The fundamental principle of this philosophy is that the human mind is incapable of knowing the metaphysical reality of things and must content itself with cognizing phenomena, appearances. This applies in the field of religion to all metaphysical knowledge of God of a doctrinal nature; but it applies, of course, with equal pertinence to the cognition of the supernatural in history. For to know the supernatural in its historical embodiment would be nothing less than to know the metaphysical reality of God obtruding itself into the world of sense. The events of history belong to that surface-world of appearance, from which theoretically there is no transition to the realm of the unseen and eternal. If it be impossible to reach the invisible background of things in general, how much more impossible must it be to reach it in its highest form of supernatural operation?

Hence Harnack, the most eminent historian of the school, tells us that history is not able to take cognizance of any miracle as a scientifically ascertained occurrence, because by doing so it would abandon the basis on which all historical investigation proceeds (*i.e.*, the basis of causally concatenated phenomena). And here also not merely the historical inaccessibility of the supernatural facts is asserted, but at the same time their elimination from the sphere of faith is joyfully hailed. This shows that in the position it takes this Ritschlian movement is determined not by purely philosophical motives, but is an exponent of the practical spirit of the age in its impatience of whatever may appear cumbersome in religion. For, where the conviction of the unknowableness of things in themselves rests on purely theoretical grounds, it is usually attended by a sense of dissatisfaction: the natural mind of man, thirsty for knowledge, rebels against the restrictions put upon it and seeks to regain in some practical way what it thinks to have lost theoretically. From this modern theological positivism such a note of resignation is entirely absent. It glories in its religious deliverance from the supernatural facts. The theoretical side in religion is not merely undervalued but scorned. This is simply the counterpart of what we see happen in the sphere of secular science.

Notwithstanding the boast of our age of being supremely scientific, it might be truly said that the impelling force of its scientific development is not the desire to know but the desire to rule over nature. In religion it is precisely the same spirit which prevails: the desire is not to know the higher world, but, to use Ritschl's own definition, "with the help of the spiritual power which man adores, to solve the contradiction in which man finds himself as a part of the natural world, and as a spiritual personality." And, if we are not mistaken, precisely here lies the strength of the appeal which this theology makes to the consciousness of our age. It offers a deliverance from the troublesome and compromising supernatural facts which is not seized upon, as it were, under the stress and compulsion of the onslaught of criticism, but which seems to rest on a respectable philosophical and theological foundation. People no longer have to say: Christianity must be possible without belief in the facts, for the facts have become uncertain and religion is a necessity. They are now able to say: Christianity from its very essence, as we construe it, can dispense with the facts, and, if history fails to authenticate them, this makes us neither cold nor warm, because our faith is superior to such considerations. It requires no pointing out how much more comfortable and dignified the latter position is than the former.

Thus we see how the positivistic principle leads to the rupture of the bond between religion and history. And yet, strange to say, Ritschlianism boasts that of all systems it alone founds Christianity exclusively on the historic revelation of God in Christ. Nor need we wonder, from another point of view, that it takes this ground, for, where all natural theology is ruled out, there all the greater emphasis must be placed upon the historical source of the knowledge of God we possess. So the apparent contradiction arises that on the one hand religion is to be independent of the facts, and that on the other hand it is to rest on the historic revelation of God in Christ. We wish to show in a few words that the contradiction is largely apparent, and that therefore not too much credit should be given for this seeming recognition of the historic factor. The truth is simply this, that when Ritschlians speak of the revelation of God in the historic Christ, they do not mean the same thing by the use of these words as we would mean in employing them. To us the history of Christ, and therefore the historical Christ, means the entire life of the Saviour with all its eternal issues included, replete with supernatural elements, involving the incarnation, the miracles, the resurrection; in other words, we find nothing in the two con-

ceptions of the supernatural and historical which would be mutually exclusive. A thing is no less historical because it is supernatural; the supernatural is the highest history. Not so the Ritschlians. To them the historic Christ who reveals is not the Christ in the totality of His life, but a distinction is made between revealing and non-revealing elements in the history of Jesus. And if we inquire more closely we find that the revealing elements consist in this, that in Christ there was presented to mankind a piece of perfect moral and religious consciousness and mediately through this an indication of what God is for man. The much-used phrase, "the historical Christ," therefore means the empirical, phenomenal Christ and that subjectively considered. The phrase is not meant to cover the great supernatural events, which to our view form the backbone of Gospel history, that in which we would say its revealing significance centres. Not the supernatural birth, not the atonement, not the resurrection, not the ascension, not the sitting at the right hand of God, not the return to judgment—not these make Christ the revelation of God to us, but the religious trust displayed by Him, the faithfulness He showed in His vocation, the perfection of His ethical conduct. The controversy about the Apostles' Creed which years ago so deeply stirred the Evangelical Church of Germany led the Ritschlian school unequivocally to define its position in this matter, and its representative spokesmen have held in every case that the fundamental facts registered in this ancient creed cannot, even apart from every dogmatic interpretation, as pure facts, be said to belong to the essence of the revelation Christ brought to the world or to enter vitally into the consciousness of the faith which appropriates this revelation. We see, therefore, that even in Christ the barrier which shuts us out from the supernatural in history is not effectually removed. Christ Himself struck at the bars in vain. The Saviour's own consciousness, so far as it was to Him a reflection of an assumed supernatural background of His life (in a transcendental sense), has no revealing authority for us. The historic revelation of God in Christ, instead of bridging over the gulf between the world of phenomena and the world of supernatural realities, is itself as absolutely surrounded by that gulf as our own consciousness. It reveals God as love, but for other questions we must not expect from it an answer.

Let us now proceed, and that more briefly, to answer the second question: What difference must it make to the content and nature of Christianity, whether it be considered necessarily connected with

historical facts or the opposite? Whenever the assertion is made that the essence of the Christian religion and the facts of sacred history, as critically determined, have nothing to do with each other, this assertion is entirely beside the point, so long as no previous agreement has been reached as to what the essence of Christianity consists in. The assertion is usually offered as a sedative to Christian people whose nerves have become unsettled by the critical methods of dealing with the Biblical facts. One would be justified, therefore, in assuming that the phrase "essence of Christianity" would be used in the sense given it by those for whom the comfort is intended. But this is by no means the case. The implication always is that, because these writers have accustomed themselves to hold a certain opinion as to the essence of the Christian faith, therefore the great majority of believing people will be ready to adopt that opinion, and as the basis of it to declare even the most radical criticism harmless. Now, as a matter of fact, the people who are disturbed by the present-day criticism have their own view as to what the essence of the Christian faith consists in—a view they hold with a considerable degree of conviction; and it implies an astounding *naïveté* on the part of the defenders of the negative criticism to suggest that they shall derive assurance from the fact that a type of Christianity which is not their own, nay, in many respects diametrically opposite to their own, is untouched by the critical conclusions. What shall it profit me to know that somebody else's Christianity is indifferent to the facts, when I also know that my own Christianity fundamentally differs from his, and that precisely in the point at issue, its interdependence with a system of facts, so that not even by the greatest stretch of tolerance can I call him a Christian in the sense in which I apply this name to myself? That the matter actually stands thus, a few moments of reflection will make abundantly clear. The difference between those who think they can do without the facts and us who feel that we must have the facts, does not lie on the periphery of the Christian faith: it touches what to us is the centre. It relates to nothing less than the claim of our holy religion to be a supernatural religion, and a religion which objectively saves from sin. It would be easy to show that a Christianity which can dispense with the facts of Bible history must, from the nature of the case, be a religion confined by the horizon of the present life and the present world, lacking that supernaturalistic eschatological outlook which is so characteristic of the Biblical religion as a whole, and of historic Christianity as well. But for the purpose of avoiding ab-

stract theological discussion, we confine ourselves to the other more immediately practical aspect of the question, which concerns, as has been stated, the claim of our religion to be a religion which objectively saves from sin. It is in regard to the soteriological, or, if another more popular term be preferred, the evangelical character of Christianity that the old and the modern conceptions differ. Let us suppose for a moment that our religion aimed at nothing more than the disclosure of a system of truth for the spiritual enlightenment of mankind—that there were no sins to atone and no hearts to regenerate and no world to transform. In that case its connection with historical facts would have to be regarded as a purely incidental matter, established for the sake of a more vivid and effective presentation of the truth, and therefore separable from the essence of the truth itself. Obviously, further, it would on this supposition be of no consequence whether the historical mould into which the truth was cast consisted of a record of actual events, or of mythical and legendary lore having only a partial basis of facts, or of conscious literary fiction having no basis of facts at all. The same will apply to every view of religion which makes the action of the truth consist exclusively in the moral suasion exercised by it on the human mind. It is plain, however, that both these conceptions of the function of Christianity, the intellectualistic as well as the moralizing, are tenable only from the standpoint of Pelagianism with its defective sense of sin. To the Christian Church, in the most catholic sense of the word, supernatural religion has always stood for something far more than a system of spiritual instruction or an instrument of moral suasion. The deep sense of sin, which is central in her faith, demands such a divine interposition in the course of natural development as shall work actual changes from guilt to righteousness, from sin to holiness, from life to death, in the sphere not merely of consciousness but of being. Here revelation is on principle inseparable from a background of historic facts, with which to bring man's life into vital contact is indeed the main reason for its existence. He who has once clearly perceived this will not even for a moment consider the possibility that his faith and such criticism as destroys the supernatural facts can peacefully dwell together in the same mind. To him the facts are become the very bread of life. Though you tell him a thousand times that the value of the Biblical narratives for moral and religious instruction remains precisely the same, whether the facts occurred or not, it will not satisfy him, because he knows full well that all moral instruction and religious impressions combined cannot save

his soul. In his thirst for redemption from sin he will not rest in anything short of an authentic record of how God wrought wonders in history for the salvation of His people. History we need, and that not only in the form of the tale of a certain perfect ethical and religious experience, which has somewhere come to the surface on the endless stream of phenomena, but such a history as shall involve the opening of the heavens, the coming down of God, the introduction of miraculous regenerative forces into humanity, the enactment of a veritable drama of redemption between the supernatural and the natural world. Whether we like it or not, criticism can touch the essence of our religion, because religion has become incarnate, and for our sakes had to become incarnate and make itself vulnerable in historic form. As the Son of God while on earth had to expose Himself to the unbelief and scorn of men, so the word of the Gospel could not be what it is for us unless it were subject to the same humiliation.

If what has been said be correct, it will follow that the proposal to declare the facts inessential betrays a lamentably defective appreciation of the soteriological character of Christianity. As a matter of fact, if one carefully examines the representations of those who claim that the results of criticism leave the religious substance of the Old Testament intact, one finds in each case that the truth left intact belongs to the sphere of natural religion and has no direct bearing on the question of sin and salvation. Such truths as monotheism and the ethical nature of God may still be found in the reconstructed Old Testament; what we look for in vain is the Gospel of redemption. But the most convenient test for this is furnished by Ritschlianism. Sin is here treated purely as a matter of consciousness, and its deeper source in the corruption of nature is left out of account. And not only this, the seriousness of sin, even as a conscious state or act, is inadequately realized. Outside the sphere of Christianity all sin is interpreted as virtually a matter of ignorance. Its essence is not opposition to God, but the failure to recognize the true attitude of God towards man as love. The most pronounced form of sin is unbelief with reference to the love of God in Christ. That with such a view of sin, and from a standpoint which makes love the only knowable attribute of God, the Church doctrine of satisfaction has no ground left to stand on is plain. What Christ has done to save us is not to bear the curse of sin in compliance with the demands of divine justice, but by holding fast to his vocation and trust in God notwithstanding his sufferings, He has assured us that, in spite of our sins, we are objects of

the divine love. Thus our justification consists in nothing else than our being introduced by Him into the actual experience of the forgiveness of sins. Everything here, it will be perceived, moves within the sphere of the subjective consciousness: it is not a change of being, nor even a change of relation, but a change of thinking that is aimed at and brought about. The same method is applied to the various stages of what we call the mystical operation of the Holy Spirit upon the soul of the believer and his mystical union with Christ. Even where the terms are retained as expressive of the thoughts which faith inclines to form, but which are unnecessary to its completeness, their meaning has become totally different. One cannot help receiving the impression that essentially the same effects might be produced by the ideas of the religious forces operating, though the forces were non-existent themselves. No wonder then that a theology to this extent oblivious of the crying soteriological needs of the sinful world easily reconciles itself to the thought that the supernatural in history lies outside of the province of our practical concern. We, for our part, believe, and we say it deliberately, that it were a thousand times better for the Church to be torn and shaken for many years to come by the conflict with criticism than to buy a shameful peace at the stupendous doctrinal sacrifice which such a position involves.

There is one more point we must briefly touch upon under this head. It might be said that the above line of reasoning, while perfectly applicable to the great cardinal facts of redemptive history, is not suited to guarantee the historicity of the great mass of smaller supernatural events recorded in the Scripture narrative. Granted that our salvation stands or falls with the actual occurrence of the supernatural birth of Christ and His resurrection, can we affirm the same with reference to, say, the historical character of Noah and Abraham and all that is related of their lives? To this we would answer as follows: If we can show that revealed religion is inseparably linked to a system of supernatural historical facts at its culminating epoch in Christ—as we think can be done—then this creates the strongest conceivable presumption that the same will hold true of every earlier stage of the process of its development. It is certainly reasonable to assume that God will have adjusted the course of things that led up to Christ, to the fundamental character of the work of Christ—in the sense that He will have scattered over it great miraculous interpositions, to shadow forth the true nature of redemption, and, more than this, that He will have hung it not on the slender thread of legend and fiction, but on the solid

chain of actual history. We confess that it would impose a severe strain not merely on our intellectual belief in supernaturalism, but also on our practical faith, were we compelled to admit that back of the time of the prophets or of Moses there lies a great prehistoric blank, in which for aught we know God remained a hidden God. Redemption and revelation, in order to be intelligible and credible, require a degree of continuity. A system of supernatural interpositions which suddenly emerges from the mist of an immemorial evolutionary past satisfies neither our intellect nor our heart. And therefore we say, it is not a matter of small consequence whether or not we are permitted to continue to believe in the historical character of the account of the exodus or the patriarchal narrative. To make light of such questions is but a symptom of the spiritual levity of our age. Supernatural history is an organism, not a mechanical aggregate of pieces, and it behooves us to treat it with the respect that is due to the organism of a divine economy of grace. In every one of its parts, even those that might seem to us to have but the remotest connection with the centre in Christ, it is worthy of our defense and protection.

We must endeavor to be very brief in giving the answer to the third question: What is the Biblical teaching on the subject before us? For this reason we confine ourselves to the testimony of the New Testament writers. It is plain at a glance that the faith of the Apostles and the faith of the Apostolic Church revolved around the great redemptive facts in which they found the interpretation of the inner meaning of the Saviour's life. To the earliest Christian consciousness doctrine and fact were wedded from the outset. Facts, like the incarnation, the atonement, the resurrection, the ascension, the future coming of Christ, were believed not merely in virtue of their miraculous character, as so many grounds of faith; they belonged to the very essence of the object of faith, constituted that in which faith laid hold of God. Of Paul it is unnecessary to show this, since it is universally admitted. The only question can be, whether by giving Christianity this historical content doctrinally interpreted, the Apostle has not perhaps modified its original idea, a question to which we shall revert presently. In the Petrine type of preaching the events of the earthly ministry of Jesus obtain greater prominence, as was natural in the case of one who had companied with the Saviour to the end. But none the less here also the Gospel and the Gospel-faith centre in the death, resurrection and return of Christ. The same applies to the teaching of St. John.

Notwithstanding the broad treatment of the entire life of Jesus as an incarnate revelation of the Father, the principle is here also firmly upheld that we can ascribe such a character to it only in virtue of our affirmation of the coming of the preëxistent Christ into the flesh, as a supernatural historical fact; and in the same manner the spiritual union between the believer and Christ is made dependent on the Saviour's glorification, another supernatural historical fact. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews defines faith as "the assurance of things hoped for, the proving of things not seen," and thus makes it directly refer to the historical developments of redemption, as well as to the invisible realities of the supernatural world. Now it is, of course, possible to assert that in all this the Apostolic conception of Christianity already represents a departure from the original idea of discipleship as preached by Jesus according to the synoptical tradition. Such a position, however, is an exceedingly precarious one to take. If it were true that the Apostolic teaching had fundamentally modified the Gospel of Jesus by substituting for a life taught and lived by Him a dogma about Him, then we would be face to face with the incredible fact that in the introduction of the Gospel into the world ordinary care had not been taken that those who were its first witnesses and heralds should correctly apprehend its fundamental meaning. Who will believe that a Gospel, thus cast adrift from its infancy, is a supernatural revelation of God? But, apart from this, it is not true that the synoptical tradition of the teaching of Jesus contains a message essentially different. Of course it was impossible for our Lord to make in His popular mode of preaching the great redemptive facts of his life the central theme, before these facts had transpired. But the important thing to observe is this, that on the one point at issue, the vital nexus between the Gospel and a complex of supernatural facts, the synoptical teaching is entirely in harmony with the doctrine of the Apostles. Jesus everywhere proclaims the Gospel He summons men to accept as a Gospel of the Kingdom of God. And the Kingdom of God, what else is it but a new world of supernatural realities supplanting this natural world of sin? If the Ritschlians do not clearly perceive this, it is due to their unhistorical, essentially modern interpretation of the kingdom as an ethical organization of mankind and nothing more. As soon as the incorrectness of this is recognized, the choice plainly appears to lie between acknowledging that Christianity is in its very origin, in the mind of its founder, and therefore in its essence, a system of facts, the Gospel an interpretation of facts, or assuming that the misapprehension

of the true nature of the Gospel which enters into the Apostolic teaching reaches back into the consciousness of Jesus Himself, that He did indeed bring the new revelation of God, but at the same time inadequately realized its import and subsumed it under a false category. For us, who actually believe in the supernatural origin of Christianity, the choice between these alternatives ought not to be difficult.

But what, it will be asked, about the objection that historical facts ought not to be allowed to obtrude themselves between God and the believer? We would answer, that to the New Testament writers this concentration of faith upon the historic realities of redemption does not in the least interfere with its personal character as a direct act of trust in God and in Christ. The Person is immanent in the facts, and the facts are the revelation of the Person. The history of Abraham, according to Paul, was written for our sake that we might believe in God, and that this our faith in God might be a faith in Him that raised up Jesus, our Lord, from the dead, who was delivered up for our trespasses, and was raised for our justification (Rom. iv. 23-25). "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved" (Rom. x. 9). Let us be humble; that we need this external embodiment of the principles of salvation as they exist in God is because we are sinners. Let us not ask here on earth what belongs to the state of the immediate vision of God in heaven. No doubt there is an element of danger that the facts may become separated in our minds from the living God, who stands behind them. But this danger is unavoidable, so long as faith must have any intellectual content at all. The source of the danger does not lie in the facts or doctrines as such, but in the religious apathy and superficiality of our own minds, which seem no longer capable of responding to the wealth of spiritual forces stored up in the world of redemption. There is not a fact in which the Bible summons us to believe that is not the exponent of some great principle adapted to stir the depths of our religious life. The normal believer would feel the heart-beat of religion in every dogma and in every fact. To join in the outcry against dogma and fact means to lower the ideal of what the Christian consciousness ought normally to be to the level of the spiritual depression of our own day and generation. How much better that we should all strive to raise our drooping faith and to reënrich our depleted experience up to the standard of those blessed periods in the life of the Church, when the belief in Bible

history and the religion of the heart went hand in hand and kept equal pace, when people were ready to lay down their lives for facts and doctrines, because facts and doctrines formed the daily spiritual nourishment of their souls. May God by His Spirit maintain among us, and through our instrumentality revive around us, that truly evangelical type of piety which not merely tolerates facts and doctrines, but draws from them its strength and inspiration in life and service, its only comfort and hope in the hour of death.

Princeton.

GEERHARDUS VOS.

II.

BROAD CHURCHISM AND THE CHRISTIAN LIFE.*

BROAD Churchism is the tendency to regard Church union as more important than Church distinctions. This tendency will, of course, vary greatly in degree. At first disposed to give up only the minor distinctions of polity in favor of union, it is eager at last to set aside fundamental doctrines and even to unite organically Churches whose regulative principles are contradictory. In every one of its forms, however, it differs from the tendency toward federation. The two are radically unlike. Federation is animated by love of the truth. For the sake of the truths which the Churches agree in holding it would have them coöperate in work, while for the sake of the truths which are distinctive of them it would have them retain their individuality. Broad Churchism, on the contrary, in all of its forms, is characterized by more or less of indifference to truth. It is ecclesiastical utilitarianism. Distinctions in polity and in doctrine it would overlook or ignore or deny because of the greater efficiency which it is supposed that organic union would secure. Hence, federation approves of creeds; and while it recognizes that, in the last analysis, each individual, because an individual, must have a creed of his own and so must form with the Lord Jesus a Church of his own, it would make the sincere acceptance of a less minute creed—but still the more precise the better—the basis of those larger associations of believers which we call the denominations. Broad Churchism, on the other hand, cares little for creeds; it would regard unity of purpose and character the ground of Church union; it adopts the words of the poet:

“For forms of faith let graceless bigots fight;
He can't be wrong whose life is in the right.”

Broad Churchism prevails widely and is increasing. It is one of the chief characteristics of the Christianity of our day. That this

* A paper read before the Religious Conference in Princeton Theological Seminary, October 10, 1905.

is so, appears in the passion for denominational union. This passion is the more conspicuous and the more significant because we now find it alongside of the tendency toward federation. Not to multiply illustrations, we have only to refer, on the one hand, to the Evangelical Alliance, to the Alliance of the Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System, and to the Inter-Church Federation Congress to be held by the representatives of twenty-seven denominations on November 15 in New York; and, on the other hand, to the movement for Church unity by the Episcopal Church, to the proposed union now under deliberation between the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America and the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and to the numerous other Church unions advocated from time to time with more or less of seriousness, as, for example, that between the Congregationalists and the Methodists, movements which are all alike in this, that, if not always avowedly, still really, they would sacrifice denominational distinctions to organic union. That this latter tendency, so contradictory, as we have seen, of the one toward federation, should exist and increase directly alongside of that indicates how vigorous, how deeply rooted, it itself must be. All this is explained and reaffirmed when we consider the soil in which Broad Churchism is growing. Indifference to religious truth is well-nigh universal, and as pervasive as it is extensive. Theology is the least popular department of our literature, and in theology it is on Christian doctrine that the fewest books are now being read or issued. The preaching of to-day is anything and everything but doctrinal: let it be known that a minister is given to preaching doctrinal sermons, and few are the congregations that will think it safe to call him. Creeds are commonly laid on the shelf as having only an historical interest. When they are still allowed some present and practical importance, as by our own Church, it is "the brief" and so very partial, as well as unauthoritative, "statement" that is usually given the preference. Even among us it is not generally thought worth while to teach our children our matchless "Shorter Catechism." Of our eight thousand six hundred and eighty-one Sabbath-schools, in only three thousand three hundred and twenty-six was the Catechism taught last year. Year before last, however, though our schools numbered eighty less, the Catechism was taught in two hundred and seventy-two more; and ten years ago, though our schools were eight hundred and twelve fewer than last year, those in which instruction in the Catechism was given were four hundred and ninety more numerous.

And this decline has gone on in spite of intelligent and persistent effort on the part of our Board of Publication and Sabbath-school Work to arrest it. With facts like these before us, it must be admitted that indifference to religious truth is a prominent characteristic of our day, and it is not difficult to account for the Broad Churchism which meets us everywhere. Did it not do so, it would be most strange. The wonder is rather that there should be also the movement for federation.

The question which it is proposed to discuss, and which, indeed, must be discussed, concerns the bearing of this Broad Church tendency on Christian life. Is it likely to issue in purer morals, in larger beneficence, in heartier consecration, in a fuller realization of "the life hid with Christ in God"?

I. We should grant that it might be presumed to do this. Such is at least its avowed aim; and until the contrary has been proved, it ought to be regarded as doing what it proposes. For we are bound to give the Broad Church movement credit for sincerity. It is indifferent to the truth of Christ, not because it is hostile to it, but only because it would emphasize what it regards as more important, viz., the life of Christ. Hence, it would not burden children with the Catechism. Doubtless this is true, but they need all their time to learn the application of Christianity to childhood. It would not discuss the differences between creeds: perhaps they are real, but they are unimportant when a lost world still waits for salvation. It would do away with doctrinal preaching: this may have been useful once, but that was before the days of slum work and of foreign missions. It would put theology under a ban: this is not to be disrespectful to Paul; it is only to go back to Christ Himself and to the ethical Gospel which He preached as well as lived. Surely, when such is its declared aim, we may not question that Broad Churchism means right. It would be loyal to our Lord. It would bring in His kingdom.

This it might be argued that it is doing. Never was the Church so organized or so aggressive as now. She would "go into all the world and preach the Gospel to the whole creation," and that "within the lifetime of the present generation." She has societies to meet almost every need of every social class. She plans for revivals of religion on a world-wide scale, and she prepares for a speedily coming day when at least the brotherhood of man shall attest the establishment of the kingdom of God. Nor is it otherwise as regards individual life and character. True, bad men abound and vice is rampant. To judge from the daily press, society would

seem to be rotten to the core. Yet look back two hundred years, or even much less, and it will be easy to discern the progress of Christian principles. Jonathan Edwards was expelled from his Northampton parish for presuming to protest against what would not be tolerated to-day in any Church. But there is not time for proof or illustration. If Broad Churchism declares its aim to be Christian living, and if the increase of Broad Churchism is being accompanied by the more general manifestation of the Christian life, is it not a just inference that the former is the cause of the latter? And does not this inference become necessary when we observe that there seems to be a sufficient reason for this causal relation between the two? In that Broad Churchism expressly puts the emphasis on Christian living rather than on Christian thinking, must it not tend to produce the former?

II. I believe not. I believe, on the contrary, that Broad Churchism is one of the great foes of Christian living; and for this conviction I would advance the following reasons:

1. The Broad Church attitude of mind is essentially sinful. Its sinfulness appears in at least two respects. First, it tends toward mental suicide. As has been remarked, it would secure the organic union of Churches by ignoring or denying the differences between them as regards polity and even as regards doctrine. Is it not, however, precisely through the recognition of differences that the mind is developed? Watch the little child. It is by distinguishing between this familiar object and that familiar object that his intellect begins to assert itself. Observe the scholar. In the last analysis his scholarship consists in his discernment and appreciation of distinctions. Nor may it be replied that there is another and higher process, that of generalization. There is; but this itself, when legitimate, depends on and is by means of the recognition of differences. You may say that because all men are religious they should, in spite of the numerous and striking differences between them, be put in one class and be treated as one class of beings. The suggestiveness of this generalization will, however, be in proportion to the clearness with which we see and the justice with which we estimate these differences. To one who does not perceive how unlike men are it will mean little to say that they are all alike in being religious. Indeed, one who ignores differences cannot generalize; for this consists in the recognition of a common element in those that have already been recognized as individuals, and therefore as different. The Broad Church attitude of mind must, consequently, in and of itself be opposed to mental clearness and

vigor. It must tend to arrest that discernment of differences by which the intellect is sharpened, and in so doing it must also impair that power of generalization in the exercise of which, more than in aught else, vigor is developed. Hence, the issue of Broad Churchism, if unchecked, must be the destruction of the mind. Though it be a mere tendency, it can be toward but one result, and that is intellectual suicide. It will, therefore, be essentially an immoral tendency. We have no more right to destroy the mind or to permit the destruction of the mind than we have to destroy the body or to permit the destruction of the body. Indeed, by as much as the mind is the higher because the animating and controlling factor of our life, by so much must mental suicide be a more grievous sin than physical suicide. Consequently, the influence of Broad Churchism cannot be favorable to morality. Purity of life cannot be the result of a tendency toward the destruction of the higher life. The spirit of intellectual suicide, whatever it may avow to the contrary, can neither originate nor foster the spirit of holiness. To think that it could would be to suppose that evil could produce good.

The other and the more significant aspect of the sinfulness of the Broad Church attitude is that it expresses indifference to God and thus is a direct insult to Him Himself. That any Broad Churchmen are deliberately guilty of this most serious sin is not asserted. That they are Broad Churchmen makes it impossible that they should be. Whoever counts himself a Churchman must mean to be loyal to the great Head of the Church. An insult, however, may be real though not intentional, and it is so in this case. As we have seen, Broad Churchism is rooted in indifference to truth. The Broad Churchman would secure the organic union of Churches because he appreciates the strength that comes from true union, and does not appreciate the importance of the distinctions in polity or doctrine which stand in the way of such union. His failure to appreciate the importance of these distinctions is due to his lack of discernment of what they are and involve. This lack of discernment is rooted in indifference to truth in general and to religious truth in particular. A lower value is put on it than on intention and conduct. Hence, ethics soon supplants dogmatics. What is the duty which God requires of man? becomes the question. The inquiry, What are we to believe concerning God? loses all but a merely academic interest. It is even urged that loyalty to God demands that it should be so. He would have us give our attention to the work which He wishes us to do rather than to Himself. Such is Broad Churchism when reduced to its lowest terms.

Now this attitude, however unintentionally, is a direct insult to God. Truth is the correspondence between what is thought and what is. It is the real conception of reality. Of such conception God is the author. He is the creator of reality which is its object. "By Him all things were made." He is the Maker of the faculties by which we perceive and conceive. "The inspiration of the Almighty giveth men understanding." He brings our faculties and their objects into relation. It is by His appointment and in this sense by His revelation that we see and hear and comprehend. He preserves all our powers in their integrity. It is in Him that we even "live and move and have our being." Thus in every sphere truth is God's work: He is its Author. Consequently, indifference to it is disrespect to Him and must be unfavorable to the life hid with Christ in Him. Especially is this so, however, in the sphere of religious truth. Here God is not only the author of truth; He is himself "the truth." That is, He himself is the object of our perception and conception. He is the reality before our minds and into agreement with which we try to bring our thoughts. The various doctrines, therefore, which result from this effort are just so many different views of God Himself. Whether absolutely correct or not, they are God as we see Him. Hence, to be indifferent to them is to be indifferent to Him. It is as though a child were deliberately to turn his back on what he took to be his father coming toward him. Could such a frame of mind be expected to issue in the higher life? Must not such disrespect cut the root of all morality? "Even as they refused," says the Apostle, "to have God in their knowledge, God gave them up unto a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not fitting." Such sin could not issue otherwise.

2. We see at once how this is when we inquire into the nature of truth and its relation to moral character and so to Christian life. There is a widely prevalent theory, that truth may be of the feelings as well as of the intellect; that it may not only come thus from two independent sources, but may be contradictory so that what is true to the feelings may be false to the intellect and *vice versa*; and that as moral character and so Christian life are rooted in the voluntary nature, of which the feelings are an expression, the Christian life may be developed and, some say, would better be developed, without reference to such intellectual conceptions as doctrinal statements. This theory in its less extreme form was brought into special prominence, so far as our own country was concerned, by a sermon on "The Theology of the Intellect and that of the Feelings,"

preached in Boston by Prof. Edwards A. Park in 1850, and profoundly reviewed and completely refuted soon afterward in three essays by Prof. Charles Hodge. It was quite recently developed to its logical conclusion and widely popularized by Prof. Auguste Sabatier. At the present time it has pervaded all our Churches, and few even of our ministers have altogether escaped its influence. You may hear them contrasting the theology of the head and the religion of the heart; affirming that there is a knowledge of the heart as well as of the head, and that the former is far superior to the latter; and even when insisting, as they have been taught, that the knowledge of the head is necessary, at least insinuating that that of the heart is quite independent of it.

This theory is radically false. There is no knowledge of the heart. Feeling can give knowledge no more than can excitement. As Prof. Bowen has well said, "Feeling is a state of mind consequent on the reception of some idea." That is, it does not give knowledge; it presupposes it. There must be knowledge by the head before there can be feeling with the heart. If you are even to feel pain in your finger, you must first know that it has been pricked. So long as you are unconscious of this you will feel no pain. You see the point. The religion of the heart, so far from being independent of the theology of the head, is impossible without it. Genuine religion can no more be creedless than pleasure or pain can be unconscious. Orthodoxy does not of itself insure piety; for the knowledge that your finger is being pricked will not cause pain, if your finger is callous: but without orthodoxy true piety is impossible.

Again, the head and the heart are not in opposition. They are not, as often represented, rival faculties. Strictly speaking, they are not even different faculties. Man is not a bunch of separate activities. He is an indivisible unit. His powers are but differing modes of one activity. Hence, for this reason, too, our faculties cannot be independent of each other. Stomach and lungs perform diverse functions, but the one depends on the other. An Apostle has written, "If one of our members suffer, all the members suffer with it." Once more you see the point. The religion of the heart and the theology of the head cannot be divorced. Unless the heart be disposed toward Christ, the head cannot, because it will not, discern the truth of Christ. As our Lord said, "It is only he who wills to obey God, whose heart is right toward Him, who shall know the doctrine whether it be of Him." On the other hand, zeal in Christ's cause will be strong and abiding in proportion as the faith from which it springs and by which it is nourished is in-

telligent. Zeal without knowledge is dangerous and short-lived. Hence, the destructive tendency of Broad Churchism is explained. It ought to be subversive of "the life hid with Christ in God" because the indifference to truth which it involves is itself a grievous sin, indeed, a direct insult to God; and how the penalty which it thus deserves is inflicted appears in this, that it inclines to ignore the intellect, which is one of the two indispensable factors in all right action and life. To do or to be right, one must at least know what is right. In this sense the intellectual element in conduct is even primary.

3. The argument is strengthened by what is often urged as an objection to it. It is claimed that while truth is thus the primary element in right conduct, it is not all truth that has reference to conduct; and that the truth to which Broad Churchism is indifferent is not truth of this practical kind. In a word, the doctrinal distinctions which it would ignore are too abstract to have any practical application. They do not suggest or enforce any duty or supply any motive. It will not follow from the fact, however, that these truths have thus no practical application, that they do not have either any practical relations. That the three angles of a triangle are together equal to two right angles neither prompts nor indicates any special course of conduct. It would seem to be a truth absolutely without practical application. Yet it is quite evident that it has practical relations. It cannot be presented to the mind and its comprehension not depend on the disposition and affect the character. The unwilling schoolboy will grasp it slowly because he is unwilling, and his imperfect grasp of it will only increase his unwillingness. The scientist can see no importance in metaphysics because of his prejudice against it; and his repudiation of it both deepens his prejudice, contracts his sympathies, and even vitiates his science. But this is not the main consideration. The truths of our religion are never mere abstract propositions. Every one of the doctrines of Christianity has practical applications as well as practical relations. Every one of them both indicates duty and inspires to its performance. What is duty? The obligation arising out of the rule of right. What is right? Conformity to law. What is law? The demand on us springing out of God's nature. What is God's nature? That which He in Himself is. It must be, then, that as every truth concerning God's will for us has direct application to our lives, so every truth regarding what He is in Himself is not without at least relation to our obedience to His will. Because in Himself He is the norm and ground and rea-

son of the Christian life, it cannot but be that that life should depend on and, other things being equal, should be in proportion to the fullness and clearness of our knowledge of God. Hence it is that our Lord teaches us that "life eternal is to know God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent," and that John writes that "when Christ shall appear we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is." So practical is all religious truth that Christian life may be said to consist in the apprehension of it, and that this apprehension cannot be so complete as that life requires until God shall have been known in the perfect vision of His Son. Only then shall we discern all that we ought to be or be inspired as we must be to realize it.

4. The argument is confirmed by the history of the Church. Whenever we succeed in reaching the real sequence of cause and effect we find, that life has been according to doctrine; that devotion to the truth of Christ has issued in effective activity in His cause; and that indifference to the truth as it is in Him has resulted in misdirected effort and at last in loss of energy itself. Our limits, of course, forbid even the least elaboration of this proof. Let it suffice to remind you of the Huguenots of France, of the Dutch Republic, of the Covenanters of Scotland, of the English Puritans. Their uniquely grand characters were the expression of their uniquely grand belief. As another has written, "It was their faith in God's direct rule over all human spirits and all social relations which made them the strong men they were," and as Emerson says of them, "weighted them with the weight of the universe!" It was because from earliest childhood they were taught that God was the gracious but absolute Sovereign of all, how this was and what it meant, that they came to understand that, this being so, there was no room for despotism in Church or State; and it was this intelligent devotion to the most elaborate as well as Scriptural of creeds that the Holy Spirit used to make them the great champions of both religious and civil liberty. Can Broad Churchism point to any like influence? It has given birth to many pleasant-spoken because complaisant men; but did it ever produce a moral hero such as John Calvin, or Hugh Latimer, or John Knox, or Johannes à Lasco? Nor may it be replied that the organization and missionary activity, both at home and in foreign lands, of the Church of to-day, broad and lax though it is, breaks the force of this reference. These most admirable characteristics are not due to Broad Churchism; they are rather in spite of it. Though found in connection with it, they are not because of it.

They are not the fruit of what the Church is, but of what it was. A strong man who has been well nourished will work on for some time after his nourishment has been withdrawn; and that Broad Churchism is not feeding the activity of the Church as it was fed and needs still to be fed, appears in such symptoms as the marked decline in the number of candidates for the ministry, and especially in the loss of power on the part of the Church to maintain its individuality in the midst of the world.

5. That Broad Churchism, or the indifference to religious truth out of which it grows and which it fosters, is directly opposed to the Christian life—such is the plain teaching of the Word of God. Its testimony in this respect cannot now be even outlined. I may only remind you, that the all-embracing purpose of the Bible is to teach the truth as to God and man's relation to Him; that the great duty which it enjoins is to go into all the world and preach this most glorious of all truths to the whole creation; and that so far from many aspects of this truth being too abstract to have any bearing on conduct, "every Scripture," in addition to being "inspired of God," is said to be "profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness: that the man of God may be complete, furnished completely unto every good work." So long, therefore, as even one fact or doctrine of the Bible remains unappropriated or misunderstood by anyone, just so long must his life fall short of what God requires. Otherwise, the conclusion is forced on us that God has inspired the unnecessary. No less practical importance than this does the Word of Him who is Himself "the truth" attach both to the most profound and to the least of its truths. Could there be a more entire condemnation of Broad Churchism?

It will follow, then, in the first place, that the great business of the minister of Christ is to preach the truth of Christ in all its length and breadth and height and depth. He is so to lodge it in the minds of the people that it will permeate, and will need only to be vitalized to determine, all their thinking and acting. This it has been promised that the Holy Spirit will do. He is to give the spiritual discernment which will enable us to perceive the relations and to make the applications of the truth to ourselves. Yet how commonly do we reverse this divine order! The enforcement of duty we regard as our great work, whereas it is the Holy Spirit's! The clear and systematic presentation of the facts and truths which make duty and in which the Christian life is rooted, this we leave undone; and, as might have been expected,

little is done. Up-to-date pastors, and modern evangelists, and practical Sunday-school teachers, may cry unceasingly, "Come to Jesus!" but they will cry in vain. Only the Holy Spirit can draw to Christ those who are "dead through trespasses and sins"; but being the Spirit of truth, He has not covenanted to draw save in connection with and by means of the truth. He will not open the blind eyes and quicken the dead hearts and make the lost see and feel Christ to be their only and sufficient Saviour, unless we do the part which He has assigned to us and in which He has promised to give us the help which we need; and that part is clearly to set forth whatever He has revealed in his Word as to who Christ is, as to what Christ is, as to why Christ is. After all, of what use will spiritual discernment be, if the spiritually enlightened man is to have no more truth to discern than much of the preaching and teaching of our day set before him? Brethren, we may not look for a revival of religion until there has been a revival of doctrinal instruction. True religion is impossible when Broad Churchism is weaning us from its only nourishment.

Finally, just because of the importance of doctrinal distinctions must they be presented popularly and in relation to life. It was so that the inspired teachers of the Bible always did. It has been thus that the greatest preachers of the ages have ever done. Nothing was more characteristic of our own lamented Dr. Purves than that he was wont, as was his and our Master and Exemplar, so to preach even "the deep things of God" that "the common people would hear him gladly." It is such preaching that is demanded, if Broad Churchism is to be discredited. But such preaching will drive it from the field. A doctrine like that of the absolute sovereignty of God in the bestowal of grace it will be felt to be worth while to maintain even our own denominational individuality to testify to, when once this doctrine shall again, as in the heroic days of the older Calvinism, come to be set forth generally not as a mere scholastic proposition, but as the most precious of truths because the most vital and blessed of facts. In view of the universal prevalence of Broad Churchism, such simple and practical preaching of "the whole counsel of God" is the supreme need of the hour.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

III.

“THE MARROW OF MODERN DIVINITY” AND THE MARROW CONTROVERSY.

TO readers unacquainted with the Church history of Scotland the *Marrow of Modern Divinity* and the Marrow Controversy may convey little if any meaning. Yet they stand for much that is vital in the religious life of Scotland. The *Marrow*, though the work of an Englishman, has come to be regarded as a Scottish production; and while it may not have such a high place in our religious literature as Rutherford's *Letters*, Guthrie's *Christian's Great Interest* or Boston's *Fourfold State*, yet because of the influence that it exercised over such men as Fraser of Brea,* Boston,† the Erskines,‡ Whitefield,§ Hervey || and Chalmers,¶ apart altogether from the fact that it was the cause of one of the greatest controversies in the Scottish Church, it is worthy of the student's serious attention. It is now well-nigh two hundred years since the minister of Carnock launched on the troubled sea of ecclesiastical strife the

* “I was much helped by Luther . . . and Calvin's *Institutes*; something more by that book called the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*” (*Memoirs*).

† “I have been acquainted with that book eighteen or nineteen years and many times have admired the gracious conduct of Providence which brought it to my hand, having occasionally lighted upon it in a house of the parish where I was first settled as minister. As to any distinct uptakings of the doctrine of the Gospel I have, such as they are I owe them to that book” (*Works*, Vol. VII).

‡ “We do indeed own that we esteem it as a book whose principal aim is to debase self; to exalt our great Master and His everlasting righteousness and to rid marches between the law and the Gospel. We own we have been edified by it ” (quoted in Brown's *Gospel Truth*).

§ Ebenezer Erskine in a letter to Whitefield says: “I am glad the *Marrow of Modern Divinity* has been helpful to you, as it has been to many” (quoted in Brown's *Gospel Truth*).

|| “It is a most valuable book; the doctrines it contains are the life of my soul and the joy of my heart. Might my tongue or pen be made instrumental to recommend and illustrate, to support and propagate such precious truths, I should bless the day wherein I was born” (letter to William Hogg from James Hervey).

¶ Dr. Chalmers' attention was first directed to the *Marrow* by Prof. Harry Rainy, of Glasgow University (father of Principal Rainy), and his opinion is thus recorded in his *Memoirs*: “I am reading the *Marrow* and derive from it much light and satisfaction. It is a masterly performance. . . . Finished the reading of the *Marrow*. I feel a growing delight in the fullness and sufficiency of Christ.”

first Scottish edition of the *Marrow*. It came speaking of the things of peace, but its advent seemed only to add to the wild restlessness of theological thought. The angry voices have long since been hushed to silence, and we in these later days can approach the subject with that calmness that is so essential for unbiased judgment. A temporary interest was awakened in the *Marrow* by the publication of a new edition * two or three years ago. The work is edited by the Rev. Dr. MacCrie, of Ayr, and appears in a much more pleasing dress than formerly. One cannot help, however, giving expression to a feeling of disappointment that an editor so well equipped should have given us so little in his introduction. Not even a page is devoted to the *Marrow* literature, only a tantalizing footnote sending us to the pages of the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*. The notes in the body of the work are few, but serve their purpose. The price of the book may have been to some extent accountable for these drawbacks by confining the printed matter to certain limits. One notable and interesting feature of this edition is the biographical notes in the Appendix on the men whose works are quoted in the *Marrow*. The text has been founded on a number of editions carefully collated; obvious errors of author and printer were corrected and the spelling modernized.

I. "THE MARROW OF MODERN DIVINITY."

This work, which caused so much controversy in Scotland, was first published in 1645, while the Westminster Assembly was sitting. It went forth to the world with the title: "*The Marrow of Modern Divinity; first part touching the Covenant of Works and the Covenant of Grace with their use and end, both in the time of the Old Testament and in the time of the New, clearly describing the way of eternal life by Jesus Christ.*" The book was published with the imprimatur of Joseph Caryl, known to students of Puritan theology by his voluminous commentary on Job, a work the reading of which might have severely taxed the patience of the patriarch himself. Caryl had been appointed by the Westminster Assembly to revise and approve theological works for the press, and in recommending this work to the reader he describes it as a "discourse so stored with many necessary and seasonable truths confirmed by Scripture and avowed by many approved writers." With this

* *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*; edited, with Introduction, Notes and an Appendix, Biographical and Bibliographical, by C. G. MacCrie, D.D. Glasgow: David Bryce & Son, 1902.

recommenda-tion the little work went forth on its adventurous and stormy career.

The great purpose of the book was clearly to describe the way of eternal life, and with this end in view it sets out by showing the difference between the Law and the Gospel, and in doing so steers a middle course between Antinomianism and Neonomianism. According to its teaching the Gospel, strictly speaking, has no precepts and even those precepts which are commonly regarded as belonging to the Gospel are in reality the precepts of the Law. The first part of the book may be generally described as an exposition of the Federal Theology. The exposition is carried on in the form of a dialogue between Evangelista, a minister of the Gospel; Nomista, a Neonomian; Antinomista, an Antinomian, and Neophytus, a young Christian. The dialogue is conducted with a pleasing vivacity, though of course Evangelista is always victorious. He is strong in detecting the weak points of his opponents, and if Antinomista and Nomista continue still in their old ways it is not because their errors have not been pointed out to them. The book is largely made up of extracts from the writings of the Reformation and Puritan divines—Luther, Calvin, Beza, Bullinger, Peter Martyr, Thomas Goodwin, Lightfoot, Sibbes, Marshall and others. Hence its name, for it contained the marrow of these divines, who at the time of its publication were modern. That the book contains some unguarded expressions was candidly admitted by the Marrowmen themselves.* But it is to be borne in mind that some of these expressions are from the writings of Luther, who was not accustomed to measure his words when hurling his thunderbolts at popish error and legalism. The *Marrow* seems to have enjoyed no small popularity for in 1648 seven editions had been called for, and in 1690 a ninth edition was in circulation, in which the more extravagant expressions had undergone judicious pruning.

A second part was published in 1648, in which Nomologista takes the places of Nomista and Antinomista. Nomologista is a prattler of the law, and between himself and Evangelista the discourse drags somewhat heavily along, lacking in the point and vivacity of the first part. Its theme is a spiritual exposition of the ten commandments. Like the first part, it has a recommendatory Preface † from the pen of Caryl.

* "I never recommend it in private," says E. Erskine, "to any person without telling them that there are unguarded expressions in it" (*Gospel Truth*, p. 125).

† "The marrow of the second bone," he says, "is like the first—sweet and good. The commandments of God are marrow to the saints, as well as the promises; and they shall never taste the marrow of the promise who distaste the

The *Marrow* of which the foregoing account has been given is said to have been the production of Edward Fisher, of Mickleton, in Gloucestershire. He entered Brazenose College, Oxford, in 1627, where he took his B.A. degree in 1630. Soon afterwards he was called home by his relatives who seem to have been in straitened circumstances. Wood mentions him in his *Athenæ Oxoniensis*.^{*} He is credited with being an accomplished scholar in Greek and Hebrew and a diligent student in ecclesiastical history. As to his early religious life, he tells us in his Preface to the *Marrow* that for twelve years he knew no other way to eternal life than to be sorry for his sins, to ask forgiveness and strive to fulfill the law and keep the commandments. He wrote a number of treatises, rare copies of which may be found in the British Museum and Bodleian Library. Among these the following are attributed to him: *An Appeal to the Conscience, as thou wilt answer it at the great and dreadful Day of Jesus Christ* (1644); *A Christian Caveat to old and new Sabbatarians* (1650); *An Answer to sixteen Queries, touching the Rise and Observation of Christmas*. His after career in life appears to have been somewhat checkered. Becoming involved in pecuniary difficulties, he is said to have retired to Wales and to have become a school-master at Caermarthen. Here he was discovered by his creditors, whereupon he fled to Ireland, where he died, but in what year is not known. There is no foundation for Principal Hadow's idle scoff that Fisher was an illiterate barber in London. The Edward Fisher of whom the foregoing brief account is given is the person accepted by most historians as the author of the *Marrow*, though there are others who claim the honor for another Edward Fisher who lived at the same time and who also wrote theological treatises. Be the author who he may, and whatever difference of opinion there may exist between the advocates of the two Fishers, all will admit the truth of Spurgeon's *jeu d'esprit*: "Fisher might well say, the lines have fallen to me in troubled waters."

II. THE MARROW CONTROVERSY.

If the career of the *Marrow* in England was without light or shadow, that cannot be said of it in Scotland. A mere accident (one is so ready to remark), the interest of a soldier in the little

commandments. This little treatise breaketh the bone, the hard part of the commandments, by a plain exposition, that so all even babes in Christ, yea such as are yet out of Christ, may suck out and feed upon the marrow by profitable meditations."

^{*} Vol. II, p. 198.

book, his carrying it home to Scotland, and his minister (the saintly Boston of Ettrick) taking it up out of curiosity during one of his pastoral visits and finding in it the solution of some difficulties that had hitherto stood in his way of proclaiming a full and free offer of the Gospel—these are the bare facts of the story, the predestined forerunners of one of the greatest controversies in Scottish ecclesiastical history. Boston's own account of the finding of the *Marrow*, an incident so seemingly trivial yet destined to give tone and color to the evangelical theology of Scotland to the present time, is of the deepest interest. About the year 1698, he tells us, he made the acquaintance of Rev. George Mair, Culross, who was colleague to Fraser of Brea. In his preaching Mair often spoke of being divorced from and dead to the law expressions which seemed to convey very little meaning to Boston. After his settlement at Simprin his thoughts were turned to these matters and some light seemed to dawn on his mind. Still there were a few difficulties that remained unsolved. It was while he was in this state of mind that he made an important discovery that was destined to be the long-sought-for solution to these difficulties and to exercise a mighty influence on his preaching. This discovery took place during one of his pastoral visits at Simprin. On leaving the house of one of his parishioners his eye lighted on two small books of divinity. His student instincts were aroused, and on taking them up he found them to be Saltmarsh's *Christ's Blood Flowing Freely to Sinners* and the first part of Fisher's *Marrow of Modern Divinity*. These had been brought home from England by the master of the house, who had been a soldier in the Civil War. Boston carefully read the books, but was dissatisfied with Saltmarsh, while on the other hand he was so delighted with Fisher that he purchased it from its owner and ever afterwards reckoned it as one of his treasures. This must have been some time about the year 1700. At any rate, he tells us, by the end of this year he had not only mastered its contents, but had begun to preach its doctrines. Nothing more was heard of the *Marrow* for the next eighteen years, but during all this time the simple country folks of Simprin were being fed on the rich and savory Marrow theology by their zealous and devoted pastor.* Its next appearance on the scene was to be the beginning of what is known as the Marrow Controversy.

* Hill Burton speaks of the *Marrow* as having "created that change of heart (in Boston) which it was the doctrine of his theological school to hold essential" (*Hist. of Scotland*, Vol. VIII, p. 400). The change of heart had come long before this under the preaching of the Rev. Henry Erskine, the godly father of two of

The Presbytery of Auchterarder (so famous in Scottish Church history), in its desire to put an effective check on legal preaching, had drawn up a proposition which it required all students of divinity applying for license to sign. The proposition was couched in the following words: "I believe that it is not sound and orthodox to teach that we forsake sin in order to our coming to Christ." This is what was afterwards known as the Auchterarder Creed. The wording no doubt easily lends itself to misconstruction,* but the evident intention of the Presbytery was to save the Church from that legal strain of preaching so dear to the heart of the Moderates, but so obnoxious to the spiritually minded members of the Church of Scotland. The validity of the Auchterarder Creed was soon to be put to the test. In 1717 a student, William Craig by name, presented himself for license, but refused to sign the Presbytery's proposition and in consequence was refused license. The matter came up before the General Assembly the following year, when the worthy fathers and brethren belonging to that school of frigid theology that goes by the name of Moderatism condemned the proposition as "unsound and detestable," and appointed a Committee on Purity of Worship, whose ostensible purpose was to keep pure the faith once delivered to the saints; but whose real aim was to keep a careful watch on the evangelical party.

The case was one in which Boston was deeply interested, for he was a strong supporter of the Auchterarder Creed. While the debate was proceeding he entered into conversation with the Rev. John Drummond of Crieff, explaining to him what he understood by the free offer of the Gospel. In the course of this conversation he made reference to the *Marrow of Modern Divinity* in such a way as to arouse Drummond's interest. Drummond made a diligent search for a copy of the book in the bookseller's shops in Edinburgh and was successful in his search. Ere he had finished reading it, it was passed on to the Rev. James Webster, one of the ablest evangelical ministers of his time, and from him to the Rev. James Hog, minister of Carnock, in Fife. Hog was so pleased with the book that he made up his mind to publish it. So in 1718 the first Scot-

Scotland's most renowned preachers. All the *Marrow* did for Boston was to clear away certain difficulties that stood in his way of giving a free and full offer of the Gospel. Boston, like Bunyan, may well say, "The Philistines do not understand me."

* "Never will you forsake sin evangelically," says Ebenezer Erskine, "till once Christ come to you and you to Him. When Christ comes into the temple He drives out all the buyers and sellers. Therefore let Him in and He will make the home clean." The first line of the well-known hymn, "Just as I am without one plea," is the Auchterarder Creed in poetic form.

tish edition of the *Marrow*, with a Preface by James Hog, saw the light. The work caused a great stir in Fifeshire and a war of pamphlets began. Hog replied to some of these in the following year in his *Vindication of the Doctrine of Grace*. But it was the attack of Principal Hadow of St. Andrew's that brought matters to a crisis. In April, 1719, in a sermon preached before the Synod of Fife, and afterwards published with the title "The Record of God and Duty of Faith Therein Required," he made a violent attack on the teaching of Marshall's *Gospel Mystery of Sanctification* and the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*. This was the beginning of that struggle in which the living orthodoxy of Scotland was to find itself pitted against the cold, formal orthodoxy of the Hadow school. The Committee on Purity of Worship thought it right to justify their existence by calling James Hog of Carnock, and his sympathizers, Messrs. Hamilton of Airth, Brisbane of Sterling and Warden of Gargunnoch, before them. Hog was asked if he was the author of the Preface of the last edition of the *Marrow*. He replied in the affirmative, adding that the reading of the book had been blessed to many, notably Fraser of Brea, and he had to acknowledge for himself that he had received more light about some important concerns of the Gospel by perusal of the *Marrow* than by any other human writings that had come to his hands. The Committee, after an examination, gave in a report to the Assembly in which they charge the *Marrow* with teaching that assurance is of the essence of faith; that the atonement is universal; that holiness is not necessary to salvation, and that fear of punishment and hope of reward are not allowed to be motives of a believer's obedience. It is almost needless to say that the *Marrow* teaches no such doctrines as that assurance is of the essence of faith or that the atonement is universal, but the worthy fathers had such faith in their Committee that they proceeded to pass a heavy sentence on the book and all those who sympathized with its teaching. In the Assembly's Act, passed in 1720, ministers are strictly prohibited and discharged, either by preaching or printing, to recommend the *Marrow* or to say anything in its favor; they were further enjoined to warn and exhort their people in whose possession the book might be, or might at any time come, not to read or use the same. The terms of the Act were rigidly carried out by the Anti-Marrowmen, among whom may be mentioned Principal Hadow and Prof. Hamilton.*

* It is only just to Hamilton's memory to say that in after years he expressed satisfaction with the *Marrow* doctrine of Christ as a deed of gift and grant to mankind sinners (Boston's *Memoirs*, p. 420).

The sweeping condemnation of this Act gave a severe blow to the friends of evangelical truth in the Scottish Church, for in their estimation the Assembly had condemned a "bundle of sweet and pleasant Gospel truths." Boston and his two friends Wilson and Davidson brought a motion for the repeal of the Act before their own Presbytery. The Presbytery sent up the motion to the Synod of Merse and Teviotdale, but when the vote was taken the Marrowmen were hopelessly outvoted. Foiled in this, their first attempt, they agreed to write James Hog telling him of their ill success, while expressing the determination not to let the matter rest here. Accordingly Boston drew up a rough draft of a document which they purposed sending to the Assembly. This draft was sent to the brethren in Fife, and a meeting was appointed to be held in the house of William Wardrop, an apothecary in Edinburgh. At this meeting there were present James Kid, Queensferry; Ebenezer Erskine, Portmoak; Ralph Erskine and James Wardlaw, Dunfermline; William Wilson, Perth; James Bathgate, Orwell; Gabriel Wilson, Maxton; Henry Davidson, Galashiels; Thomas Boston, Ettrick. One readily recognizes in this list the names of men whose fame is in the Presbyterian churches the wide world over. This first meeting was devoted entirely to prayer, as became men entering on a momentous struggle. Later on other meetings were held at which the Act of Assembly anent the *Marrow* was carefully analyzed and discussed. After matured deliberations it was decided that a representation should be sent up to the Assembly, pointing out the serious injustice the Act had done to the cause of evangelical truth. The drawing up of this representation was committed to Ebenezer Erskine, with whom was lodged Boston's draft already referred to. At a meeting held in March Erskine presented his document, which on undergoing a revision was signed by all present. Messrs. Ebenezer Erskine, Wilson and Hog* were absent from this meeting, and Messrs. Hamilton, Brisbane and Muir, though invited, did not come, "which was to our great discouragement," says Boston. The next meeting was appointed to be held on the first night of the meeting of the Assembly.

On this occasion James Hog and a goodly number of the brethren who had come up to attend the Assembly were present. It had been the intention to devote the time to prayer, but it soon became evident that there were some present who were more inclined to dispute than pray. The two chief culprits were John Warden and

* "Mr. Hog's absence was thought expedient by some of ourselves because of his particular interest; he having writ the Preface to the *Marrow*" (Boston's *Memoirs*, p. 356).

Alexander Moncrieff.* These good men were dissatisfied with the Representation and suggested a number of alterations, to which the others would not agree. The whole night was spent in wrangling and wearisome disputings. At length those who were satisfied with the Representation signed the document and decided to send it up to the Assembly. There were twelve signatories, and from this time forth they were known as the Representers or facetiously as the Twelve Apostles by their opponents. The list † includes the following names: James Hog, Carnock; Thomas Boston, Ettrick, John Bonar, Torphichen; John Williamson, Inveresk; James Kid, Queensferry; Gabriel Wilson, Maxton; Ebenezer Erskine, Portmoak; Ralph Erskine and James Wardlaw, Dunfermline; Henry Davidson, Galashiels; James Bathgate, Orwell, and William Hunter, Lilliesleaf. To James Kid, "a man of singular boldness," was committed the task of presenting the Representation to the Committee on Bills and Overtures. In this Representation the Marrowmen express their grief at the severe blow the Assembly has given to evangelical truth in condemning as unsound (1) that the Father hath made in the Gospel a free and unlimited offer of Christ and of salvation to all men, by virtue of which every individual who hears the Gospel has warrant to take hold of the said offer and apply it to his own soul; (2) that an assured persuasion of the truth of God's promise in the Gospel, with respect to one's self in particular, is included in the very nature of saving faith; (3) that the believer's holiness is in no way the price or condition of his salvation; (4) that believers in yielding obedience to the law as a rule of life ought not to be influenced either by mercenary hopes of heaven or by slavish fears of hell; (5) that the believer is not in any way under the law as a covenant of works; (6) and that it is a just and Scriptural distinction which is made between the law as a covenant of works and the law as a rule of life in the hands of Christ.‡ It was decided by the Committee on Bills and Overtures that unless a conference was desired the Representation should be transmitted to the Assembly *quam primum*. Day after day, however, passed and the *quam primum* of the Assembly became a misnomer. At

* Afterwards one of the "Four Brethren" of the Secession.

† It is interesting to notice in this list the name of an ancestor of Horatius and Andrew Bonar. This was his first and last appearance among the Representers. This was also John Williamson's first appearance, but he was very useful afterwards, "being a man of clear head, ready wit and very forward" (Boston). Brown of Whitburn, in his *Gospel Truth*, gives short but interesting biographies of the Representers.

‡ As summarized in MacKerrow's *Hist. of the Secession Church*, Vol. I, p. 18.

length, owing to the indisposition of the High Commissioner, the Assembly was dissolved. The Commission of the General Assembly now took up the matter, and after various appearances before them the Representatives were asked to answer twelve queries dealing with the controverted points. The answers to these queries were drawn up by Ebenezer Erskine and Gabriel Wilson.* They display remarkable acquaintance with theological literature, and whatever may be one's opinion of the Marrow theology he cannot help admiring the care exercised in and the deep religious tone that pervades these *Answers*. They came from men who were theologians and whose hearts beat true to the precious truths of the Gospel. In giving in their *Answers* the Representatives take care to point out the unconstitutional nature of the Commission's procedure, and put in a caveat against their action being used as a precedent. These *Answers* were apparently never received by the Assembly. But in the following year (1722) the Representatives were called before the Assembly to receive sentence. On 21st May, at three o'clock, they were to appear at the bar of the Assembly; but as that hour approached a terrific thunderstorm † burst over the city and sentence was delayed until later in the evening. At five o'clock the Representatives were called to the bar, where they were admonished and rebuked, in the hope that the great lenity used towards them should make them more dutiful in the future. The Representatives protested against this sentence, but as a protest is unconstitutional it was not accepted.‡ The sentence would in all probability have been heavier but for the earnest solicitations of the Government, which dreaded a breach in

* "The answers were, as I remember, begun by Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, but much extended and perfected by my friend Mr. Wilson; where his vast compass of reading with his great collection of books were of singular use and successfully employed" (Boston's *Memoirs*, p. 365). These Queries and Answers will be found in Brown's *Gospel Truth*.

† "I well remember," says Boston, "with what serenity of mind and comfort of heart I heard the thunder of that day, the most terrible thunderclap being just about three o'clock. It made impression on many, as Heaven's testimony against the deed they were about to do; though" (as he wisely remarks) "in this it is not for me to determine" (*Memoirs*, p. 365; *vide also* Wodrow's *Correspond.*, II, 652). This incident recalls Milton's sublime description of a more tragic event when the crushing sentence of heaven fell on the unhappy transgressors:

"Sky lowered, and muttering thunder, some sad drops
Wept at completion of the Mortal Sin."

‡ "A dissent can be given in only by those who were present when the judgment dissented from was pronounced, and no protest can be taken against a decision of the Assembly" (Cook's *Styles of Writs, etc., in the Church of Scotland*, p. 304).

the Church when the country was threatened with invasion.* In this way the Church of Scotland let fall on her faithful sons the heavy sentence of her condemnation; and they on their part, conscious of their own integrity and the justness of their cause, accepted it as an honor. From this day onward they became marked men. Every effort was made to keep them from being transferred to more important charges, and license was refused to young men who had sympathies with the Marrow theology. The Synod of Fife was particularly active in this direction, and all its members were required to re-sign the Confession of Faith with a new clause, "in view of the recent decisions of the Assembly." Ralph Erskine held out for years, but at last in 1731 he consented to sign it, appending the word *allenarly* † to his signature. But if the Marrowmen suffered persecution from their brethren in the ministry,‡ they were more than compensated by the sympathy of the most pious of the people and by the encouragement of the crowds that attended their preaching. The common people heard them gladly and drank in the pure waters of life.

III. THE MARROW THEOLOGY.

It would be tedious and perhaps unprofitable to enter into a full discussion of all the points raised by the Marrow Controversy, but there were two points raised in connection with faith and the atonement which were destined to play a very important part in Scottish and English theological discussions in the succeeding years, and these will now command our consideration.

1. The Nature of Saving Faith.—This is a subject that must always be of interest to lovers of evangelical truth. It was one of the important doctrines discussed at the Reformation, and it came up again for discussion during the Sandemanian Controversy. The Romish theologians held that faith was simply an *assensus* to divine truth, and therefore it has its seat in the intellect. The Reformers, while admitting that saving faith was an *assensus*, went further by maintaining that it also included *fiducia*. During this contro-

* "Had not this influence been exerted," says the elder MacCrie, "there is reason to believe that the sentence would have been more severe, and in that case the Secession would have taken place ten years earlier than it actually happened" (*Christian Instructor*, Vol. XXX, p. 286).

† "In Scots law *allenarly* is a restrictive term equivalent to 'only' or 'merely.' Ralph meant that his signature applied only to the Confession, but he did not say so at the time" (Prof. MacEwen in *The Erskines* in the Famous Scots Series).

‡ "We became strangers to our brethren and as aliens, and saw that our mothers had born us men of contention" (Boston's *Memoirs*).

versy another interesting question arose as to what was implied by this *fiducia*. The Romanists asserted that inasmuch as the Reformers were cut off from the infallible Church, they could have no certainty in the truths which they believed. This the Reformers denied, maintaining that by saving faith the believer had a certainty or assurance that he was saved. This certainty is the "infallible assurance" of the Westminster Confession, which it asserts "doth not so belong to the essence of faith but that a true believer may wait long and conflict with many difficulties before he is a partaker of it."* Dr. Cunningham discusses the doctrine of assurance in an article which appeared in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* † in a reply to Sir William Hamilton, who confidently asserted that this doctrine of personal assurance was a fundamental of the Reformation theology. This Dr. Cunningham denies but is constrained to admit, and in this he is followed by Dr. James Buchanan, ‡ that the great majority of the Reformers held that personal assurance was essential to the idea of saving faith. Dr. Cunningham criticises this view, pointing out that the Reformers went too far in reading their own individual experience into their theology. The Marrowmen were at one with the Reformers in holding that faith included *fiducia*, but when they came to define what was meant by *fiducia* they came into conflict with the dominant party in the Scottish Church. To the Marrowmen *fiducia* included assurance; not the complex or personal assurance of the Westminster Confession of Faith, which is not of the essence of faith, but that assurance which is in the direct act of faith. Dr. Cunningham classes the Marrowmen with the Reformers as holding the same doctrine of assurance; but the Marrowmen took particular pains to point out that they did not regard the assurance referred to in the Confession as entering into the essence of faith. Hence their distinction between the assurance of faith, or the direct act of faith (*actio fidei directa*), and the assurance of sense, or the reflex act of faith (*actio fidei reflexa*); the former is essential to faith, but not the latter. It is conceded, of course, that the Marrowmen quoted largely from the writings of the Reformers§ in support of

* Chap. XVIII, Sec. 3.

† Reprinted in *The Reformers and Theology of the Reformation*.

‡ *The Doctrine of Justification*, p. 377.

§ The definition of faith given in the Heidelberg Catechism which has been so justly admired has a decidedly Marrow ring about it. "It (faith) is not only a certain knowledge whereby I hold for truth all that God has revealed to us in His Word; but also a hearty trust which the Holy Ghost works in me by the Gospel, that not only to others, but to me also forgiveness of sins, everlasting righteousness and salvation are freely given by God merely of grace, only for the sake of Christ's merit" (Answer to Quest. 21).

their position, but in this matter they were careful to make a distinction where a great number of the Reformers made none. In rejecting the Reformers' doctrine on assurance, with whom he classes the Marrowmen, Dr. Cunningham makes the following statement: "The generality of modern divines and some of the Reformers held that *fiducia* was just trust or confidence in Christ's person, as distinguished from mere belief of the truth concerning Him and as involving some special application or appropriation to ourselves of the discoveries and provisions of the Gospel, but not directly and immediately any opinion or conviction as to our actual personal condition; while the generality of the Reformers and some modern divines, especially those known in Scotland as Marrowmen, have regarded it as comprehending this last element also, and have thus come to maintain that personal assurance is necessarily and directly included in the exercise of saving faith or belongs to its essence."* This is not the Marrow position, and to show that it is not, appeal need be only made to the Marrow literature to show that the Marrowmen held quite a different opinion. Evangelista, in the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*, after pointing out that believers are no longer under the law as a covenant of works, turns to Neophytus and addresses him thus: "Wherefore as Paul and Silas said to the jailer, so say I unto you, 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved,' that is, be verily persuaded in your heart that Jesus Christ is yours and that you shall have life and salvation by Him; that whatsoever Christ did for the redemption of mankind He did it for you" (Chap. II, Sec. 3). The Representatives in their answer to Query VIII define this assurance: "There is a full persuasion," they say, "by reflection, spiritual argumentation or inward sensation which we are far from holding to be of the essence of faith; but this last being mediate and collected by inference as we gather the cause from such signs and effects as give evidence of it; it is very different from that confidence or persuasion, by divines called the assurance of faith Further as to the difference between these two kinds of assurance; the assurance of faith has its object and foundation without the man, but that of sense has them within him." If this assurance of faith then is essential to saving faith, what becomes of the doubts of believers? These doubts the Marrowmen say may be and often are in the true believer; but they are not of this faith, which in its very nature and exercise is as opposite to them as light to darkness or the flesh to the spirit, which, though they be in the same person, are contrary

* *The Reformers and Theology of the Reformation*, p. 123.

the one to the other (Gal. v. 17). And therefore faith wrestles against them, though with varied success, it being so far overcome sometimes and brought under by the main force and superior strength of prevailing unbelief that the true faith cannot be more discerned than the fire when it is covered with ashes or the sun when wrapped up in thick clouds.* Perhaps the most lucid summary of the Marrow view of faith that we have is to be found in Dr. Colquhoun of Leith's *Treatise on Saving Faith*: "It may be remarked," he says, "that there is a very great difference between the assurance of faith and that assurance of sense which is one of the fruits of faith. The assurance of sense is a believer's assurance that he is already united to Christ, and is in a state of grace. The assurance of faith is as inseparable from faith as light is from the sun; but it is quite otherwise with the assurance of sense. A man cannot have faith without having assurance in it; but he may have faith and not have assurance of it. For, though the mind cannot but be conscious of its own act, yet whether that act have the peculiar properties and nature of saving faith cannot satisfactorily be known but by reflection. This assurance of sense or reflection, then, is not a believing in Christ; but it is a believing that we have believed in Him. It is not a direct act terminating on Him, but a reflex by which we are assured of the saving nature of that direct act. But, although the direct act may be without the reflex, yet the latter cannot be without the former. A man must begin to believe before he can begin to know that he has believed. . . . The assurance of faith is commonly not so strong nor sweet as the assurance of sense which is supported by evidences. By the former, a man trusts upon the warrant of the free offer and promise that Christ will do the part of a Saviour to him; by the latter, he believes upon the inward evidences of grace, that his faith is unfeigned and operative. By the one, he is assured of the truth of what God hath said to him; by the other, of the reality of what God hath wrought in him. By that he trusts he shall be pardoned and saved; but by this he is persuaded that he is pardoned and saved in part already. The object of the assurance of faith is Christ revealed and offered in the Word; the object of the assurance of sense is Christ formed and perceived in the heart. The former is the root and the latter is the fruit." Further extracts are unnecessary, but it must appear quite clear that the Marrowmen did not hold the doctrine that the assurance referred to in the Westminster Confession is of the essence of faith. It now only remains to make a

* *The Representatives' Answers to Query VIII.*

few brief remarks on the progress of the controversy since the days of the Marrowmen. The controversy passed into England, where the Marrow view found an able defender in James Hervey, the author of *Theron and Aspasio*. His view of faith was attacked by Robert Sandeman with great acuteness in his *Letters on Theron and Aspasio*. Sandeman held that faith was a "bare belief of the bare truth." He was ably answered by Wilson in his *Palæmon's Creed Reviewed*, by Cudworth in his *Defence of Theron and Aspasio*, and by Andrew Fuller in his able *Strictures on Sandemanianism*. Sandeman's views were adopted by the Glasites, to which communion he belonged, and also by the old Scots Independents, who trace their history back to the year 1768.* They are now almost extinct, having only one congregation in Glasgow. The Bereans or Barclayites, another small sect, the followers of John Barclay, who was deposed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1773 while holding that the assurance of the Westminster divines was of the essence of faith, rejected the Marrow position with scorn.† Barclay, who appears to have cultivated the art of invective to a high degree, gave an illustration of his skill by making the Marrowmen his targets. This body was afterwards absorbed by the Congregationalists. In America the Marrow view of faith as set forth by Hervey was attacked by Bellamy in his *Letters and Dialogues between Theron, Paulinus and Aspasio*, while the Rev. Prof. Anderson, D.D., in his *Scripture Doctrine of Appropriation*, ably defended it. The latter work is well worthy the student's perusal. Among the writings of recent divines who advocate the same view is to be mentioned Dr. Buchanan's *Doctrine of Justification*.

2. The Extent of the Atonement.—Intimately connected with the foregoing subject is the sinner's warrant to believe. In answer to the question what is that warrant, the Marrowmen replied that it was the Father's "deed of gift and grant of His Son to sinners of mankind." It was this mode of expression that laid them open to the charge of teaching the doctrine of a universal atonement, but in reality the real crucial point of the controversy was not so much the extent of the atonement as the effort on the part of the Marrowmen to solve the old problem of a universal call and a definite atonement. Never before, perhaps, in Scottish preaching was such stress laid on the free offer of the Gospel to every sinner of the human race. True, the predecessors of the Marrowmen in the

* Ross's *Hist. of Congregational Independency in Scotland*, p. 32.

† Barclay's *Assurance of Faith Vindicated* (*Works*, p. 185).

evangelical line, such as Rutherford, Traill and Binning, made it prominent in their preaching; but it was reserved for the Marrowmen to give this truth such an honored place that it has been a potent power in keeping Higher Calvinism* out of the Scottish pulpit. The question which the Marrowmen tried to solve is of as much interest to us as it was to them. Whether they were successful in solving it has been seriously questioned, but our interest for the time being lies in their attempt to do so.

In the *Marrow* Neophytus asks the momentous question: "But, sir, hath such an one as I warrant to believe in Christ?" Evangelista answers: "I beseech you consider that God the Father, as He is in His Son Jesus Christ, moved with nothing but His free love to mankind lost, hath made a deed of gift and grant unto them all, that whosoever of them shall believe in His Son shall not perish but have eternal life. And hence it was that Jesus Christ Himself said unto His disciples, 'Go and preach the Gospel to every creature under heaven,' that is, 'Go and tell every man without exception that here is good news for him: Christ is dead for him; and if he will take and accept His righteousness, he shall have Him.'"[†] These two expressions in italics were regarded by the Hadow party as teaching the doctrine of a universal atonement. This the Marrowmen denied. "This deed of gift and grant," says Boston in his *Notes on the Marrow*, "or authentic Gospel offer is expressed in so many words (John iii. 16), 'For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life.' Where the Gospel comes this grant is published and the ministerial offer made; and there is no exception of any of all mankind in the grant. If there was no ministerial offer of Christ which could be warrantably made to the party excepted, more than to the fallen angels: and without question the publishing and proclaiming of heaven's grant unto any by way of ministerial offer, presupposeth the grant in the first place to be made to them; otherwise it would be of no more value than the crier's offering of the King's pardon to one who is not comprehended in it. This is the good old way of discovering to sinners their warrant to believe in Christ; and it doth indeed bear the sufficiency of the sacrifice of Christ for all, and that Christ crucified is the ordinance of God for salvation unto all mankind in the use making of which only they can be saved; but not an universal atonement or

* In our country we speak of the hyper-Calvinism. Perhaps in America higher-Calvinism describes the same position.

† Chap. II, Sec. 12.

redemption.'* To the same effect the Representers reply to the eighth query of the Commission. "By the deed of gift or grant we understand no more than the revelation of the divine will in the word, affording warrant to offer Christ to all and a warrant to all to receive; for although we believe the purchase and application of redemption to be peculiar to the elect, who were given to Christ by the Father in the counsel of peace; yet the warrant to receive Him is common to all." The other expression quoted in the *Marrow* which was found objectionable, "Go tell every man without exception that here is good news for him: *Christ is dead for him,*" is taken from a work by Dr. Preston, an eminent tutor and popular preacher of his day. Boston explains the expression as follows: "Therefore he (Dr. Preston) saith not, 'Tell every man that Christ died for him, but tell every man that Christ is dead for him, *i.e.*, for him to come to believe on, a Saviour is provided for him; there is a crucified Christ for him, the ordinance of heaven for salvation, for lost mankind in the use making of which he may be saved.' . . . Thus what according to Dr. Preston and our author is to be told to every man is no more than what ministers of the Gospel have in commission from the great Master, 'Tell them which are bidden, Behold, I have prepared my dinner: my oxen and my fatlings are killed, and all things are ready: come unto the marriage' (Matt. xxii. 4). There is a crucified Saviour, with all saving benefits for them to come to, feed upon and partake of freely."† Boston is careful to point out in a note too long to be quoted here that Preston had no intention of teaching the doctrine of universal atonement, that in fact the whole drift of his book clearly proves that he believed in a definite atonement. Whatever objection may be found with the Marrowmen's mode of expression on this important subject, it is evident from their writings that they strongly held the doctrine of a definite atonement; and it could be as easily shown that while steering clear of Arminianism they managed to steer no less successfully past Amyraldianism. In fact, what has been described by Dr. Smeaton‡ as perhaps the best refutation to be found in English of Amyraldianism is in Adam Gib's *Display of the Secession Testimony*.§ Gib was a devoted follower of the Marrowmen, and one of the most courageous and intelligent defenders of their theology. It is to be candidly admitted, of course,

* Boston's *Works*, VII, 263.

† *Works*, Vol. VII, 264.

‡ Smeaton's *Our Lord's Doctrine of the Atonement*, 2d ed., p. 472.

§ Vol. II, pp. 131-190 and 273-298.

that in after years by a process of development the Marrow theology on this point drifted to what was known in the Scottish Secession churches as the Double Reference Theory of the Atonement and gave rise to the Atonement Controversy. In 1749 a work entitled *Justifying Faith* appeared. This work is usually attributed to Fraser of Brea. Its references to the Atonement were distinctly Amyraldian. The work was recommended by Mair, one of the ministers of the Antiburghers. He had not much of a following in his own Church, but in the Reformed Presbyterian Presbytery the new views gave rise to a bitter controversy that ended in the formation of a new Presbytery by Hall and two elders who favored these views. They published a defense of their position and the pamphlet was recommended by Mair. The General Associate Synod now passed an "Act concerning Arminian Errors," condemning these views. Mair objected to this Act, and after being repeatedly dealt with by the Synod he was deposed in 1757. It was in connection with this controversy that Adam Gib wrote his *Illustration* referred to above by Dr. Smeaton. The questions which gave rise to the Atonement Controversy scarcely come within the scope of this subject, but any one interested will find the matter fully discussed in Robertson's *History of the Atonement Controversy in the Secession Church*. But there is one case that came under review of the United Secession Synod in 1845 to which some reference must be made, in view of the fact that the views advocated by Profs. Balmer and Brown have been confused with the Marrow doctrine. Dr. Brown,* one of the most distinguished expository preachers Scotland ever had and at that time a professor in the United Secession Church, stood forth as the defender of his colleague Dr. Balmer. In his appearance before the Synod he declared that "in the sense of the great body of Calvinists that Christ died to remove legal obstacles in the way of human salvation by making perfect satisfaction for sin, I hold that he died for all men." Dr. Balmer, in a Preface to Polhill's *On the Extent of the Death of Christ*, says: "Twelve years ago the supreme court of the United Secession Church passed an Act condemning the doctrine of a universal atonement and forbidding the use of the phrase. But how great the change effected within the last two years! The doctrine of a general reference in the death of Christ has been officially recognized, such a reference as necessarily implies a universal atonement." The

* Father of John Brown, M.D., known to the world of letters by his beautiful *Horæ Subsecivæ*, including that touching dog story, *Rab and His Friends*. Prof. Brown referred to above published a number of useful commentaries on Romans, Galatians, Hebrews and I and II Peter.

whole subject may be studied at greater length in Robertson's *Atonement Controversy*—a painstaking and useful work. It is, however, misleading in what appears to us its unsuccessful attempt to father on the Marrowmen the views of Drs. Brown and Balmer. It is no doubt owing to Robertson's leading that Dr. A. A. Hodge, in his *Outlines of Theology* and also to a certain extent in his *Atonement*,* makes the views of the Marrowmen and the United Secession professors to coincide.

IV. THE MARROW LITERATURE.

This controversy called forth quite a voluminous literature. Some of it was of a merely ephemeral nature, but there were also works produced which by the ability displayed merit perusal even in these days of the boasted brighter light. Principal Hadow was the first to enter the lists after the publication of the *Marrow* by Hog with his sermon, *The Record of God and Duty of Faith therein required*. This sermon was published in 1719 and has been described as a creditable performance, though somewhat marred by imputations of rigidity and uncharitableness towards Hog. This was followed by his *Antinomianism of the Marrow Detected*. Brown of Whitburn asserts in his *Gospel Truth* that Prof. Dunlop in his account of Rev. W. Guthrie, of Fenwick, and in the Preface to the well-known *Collection of Confessions of Faith*, published *Strictures on the Marrow Doctrine*, but as far as is known he does not appear to have taken any part in the ecclesiastical proceedings against the Marrowmen. To the same side belong *The Snake in the Grass*; *The Observer*; *The Friendly Advice*; *An Essay in Gospel and Legal Preaching*.

In defense of the Marrow position there is Hog's *Conference betwixt Epaphroditus and Epaphras* and a *Letter to a Private Christian on Gospel Holiness*. Gabriel Wilson's *Letter to a Ruling Elder* is also a pamphlet worthy of notice in the same direction. In 1721 Boston's two friends, Gabriel Wilson and Henry Davidson, suggested that he should write notes on the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*. These notes were finished in the following spring, but owing to his respect for church authority they were not published until 1726.† They went forth to the world under the *nom de plume* of Philalethes Irenæus and had in view the confutation of Hadow's *Antinomianism of the Marrow Detected*. Boston's sermons, *Christ the Saviour of the World*; *Christ the Gift of God to Sinners*; the *Mystery of Christ in the Form of a Servant*, are also expositions of the Marrow

* Pages 417 (enlarged edition) and 352 respectively.

† *Memoirs*, p. 366.

theology. Ralph Erskine in his sermons, *Law Death, Gospel Life; The Pregnant Promise; The Giving Love of God and Receiving Property of Faith; Christ the People's Covenant*, and *Ebenezer Erskine's Christ in the Believer's Arms; The Law of Faith going out of Mount Zion; The Assurance of Faith*, and the *Profitableness and Necessity of Good Works*, are all of the same trend of thought. Ralph Erskine's *Gospel Sonnets*, at one time so dear to the pious-minded of Scotland and her sons beyond the seas, is a book brimful with the sweet unction of the Marrow theology. Concerning him it might be said with truth what Fuller in his quaint way said about rhymers of his own day: "They were men whose piety was better than their poetry and they had drunk more of Jordan than Helicon." The following lines show how deeply Ralph Erskine "drank of Jordan":

"The gospel preacher then, with holy skill,
Must offer Christ to whosoever will,
To sinners of all sorts that can be named—
The blind, the lame, the poor, the halt, the maimed—
Not daring to restrict the extensive call,
But opening wide the net to catch them all.
No soul must be excluded that will come,
No right of access be confined to some.
Though none will come till conscious of the want,
Yet right to come they have by sovereign grant;
Such right to Christ, His promise and His grace,
That all are damned who hear and don't embrace.
So freely is the unbounded call dispensed,
We therein find even sinners unconvinced "

At this time there appeared a number of works by an anonymous writer which displayed remarkable ability. The first of these was *Dialogue First on the Marrow Controversy*, published in 1721. This was followed in 1722 by *Dialogue Second*. The speakers in these dialogues are Gamaliel, a defender of the Assembly Act; Paul, a defender of the Representation; Philologus, a private Christian, a violent advocate of the Assembly Act; Apelles, also a private Christian and zealous friend of the Representers; Rufus, a well-meaning Christian, attached to neither side; Gallio, a careless libertine, who uses these debates to ridicule all true religion. The next tract from the pen of this writer was *The Politick Disputant; Choice Instructions for Quashing a Stubborn Adversary*. The instructions are thirty in number and are after the style of Wither-
spoon's *Ecclesiastical Characteristics*. His first instruction is "Study carefully whatever methods may be most proper to raise your own reputation and sink your adversary's—no matter whether by making him ridiculous or odious and contemptible; but your

best course will be to carry on both designs at once." The part dealing with Principal Hadow's works is written in a serious strain. In 1723 the literature of the Controversy was further enriched by two other works from the same pen. The first volume, extending to 446 pages, is entitled *A Sober Enquiry into the Grounds of the Present Differences in the Church of Scotland, wherein the Matters under Debate are Fairly Stated; the Differences Adjusted, and Mr. Hadow's Delections Considered and Weighed.*" Deuteronomy xix. 16-19 is quoted on the title-page: "If a false witness rise up against any man . . . the judges shall make diligent inquisition; and behold, if the witness be a false witness, and hath testified falsely against his brother, then shall ye do unto him as he had thought to do unto his brother; so shalt thou put away the evil from among you." This is decidedly one of the ablest defenses of the Marrow theology; the book is now somewhat difficult to obtain, but may still be picked up at a second-hand bookseller's. The other work published during the above year is entitled *A Review of an Essay upon Gospel and Legal Preaching*. These works, though published anonymously, are now known to be from the pen of the Rev. Robert Riccaltoun,* of Hobkirk. He was one of the most remarkable men of his time. The above-mentioned works were written while he was a probationer.

Another noteworthy document in connection with this controversy is the Act passed by the Associate Synod in 1742, entitled "Act concerning the Doctrine of Grace." An abridgment of this Act will be found in Adam Gib's *Display of the Secession Testimony*, Vol. I. Two excellent treatises dealing with the subject of Saving Faith from the Marrow standpoint will be found in Bell's *Treatise on the Nature and Effects of Saving Faith* and Colquhoun's *View of Saving Faith*. Thomas Bell, the author of the above, was a minis-

* Robert Riccaltoun was born in 1691, and educated at the Grammar School of Jedburgh and the University of Edinburgh. His academic career was simply a matter of choice, as he had no plan for his future. But his religious character combined with talents of no ordinary degree so commended themselves to the Presbytery of Kelso that they urged him to accept license even though he had not gone through the divinity classes. He was licensed in 1717, and in 1725 he was presented to the parish of Hobkirk by the Presbytery of Jedburgh in the exercise of their right of the *jus devolutum*. In 1740 he wrote a poem entitled "A Winter's Day," which appeared in the May number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for that year. It was this poem which suggested to James Thomson (to whom he had acted as tutor) his *Winter*, the first written of the *Seasons* (Bayne's *Life of Thomson*, p. 29, Famous Scots Series). His works were published in the years 1771-2 by his son in three volumes. Unfortunately they do not include the above-mentioned works, as they were only intended to include the works that had not hitherto been printed.

ter of some note in his day. He belonged to the Relief Church and was ultimately settled at Glasgow. Dr. Colquhoun was also a renowned Gospel preacher, and his work, while closely following Bell, is happier in expression and clearer in statement. The next work to be noticed is what the late Principal Cairns considered the best account of the Marrow Controversy to be found in a small compass—Brown of Whitburn's *Gospel Truth*. It is a compilation of the various documents in connection with the controversy, together with interesting and valuable extracts from the works of the Marrowmen, with short biographies of the most distinguished of them. The work is valuable as setting before us in a compact compass the Gospel as understood by the Marrowmen.

Dr. MacCrie, the biographer of Knox, took up the subject of the controversy and discussed it in a number of articles which appeared in the *Christian Instructor* for the years 1831–2. Unfortunately these articles were not finished, and one cannot help expressing regret that the whole subject did not come under the calm, judicial review of one of Scotland's greatest ecclesiastical historians. In the second volume of the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* his son, the younger Dr. MacCrie, gave a historical account of the controversy; and in the same periodical for the year 1884 the Rev. Dr. MacCrie, of Ayr, has three articles dealing with the controversy and its literature, all of which are useful to the student. Along with these must be mentioned a noteworthy book whose contents are hidden behind a misleading title, viz., Agnew's *Theology of Consolation*. The author defines consolation (following John Brown of Haddington) to be "that refreshful pleasure of the soul which ariseth from the consideration of what God in Christ is to us, and of what He has done for and infallibly promised to us." The first part of the book is chiefly made up of extracts from the works of eminent divines—among whom the Marrowmen are largely represented—setting forth the theology of consolation. The second part of the book consists of a Dictionary of Writers, containing among others the names of mostly all who took part in the controversy. Short biographical notices, with references to works of interest written by the authors, make this part of the work invaluable. In books published within recent years reference may be made to Dr. MacEwan's *Studies Historical, Doctrinal and Biographical*, which contains a paper on the Marrow Controversy, and the *Religious Controversies of Scotland*, by the Rev. Henry F. Henderson, Dundee, which also has a chapter on the Marrowmen. And last, but not least, Dr. MacCrie's edition of the *Marrow* already referred to.

Wick, Scotland.

D. BEATON.

IV.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCOTTISH THEOLOGY.

WHILE Theology has become to-day, more than ever before, a great international study and concern, it may yet be helpful, and will certainly be interesting and relevant, to confine attention now to Theology as manifested in that real, concrete, and distinctive entity, the Scottish nation. Theology, like philosophy, has always been affected by nationality—always will be so in its development. True, it must be clearly perceived and remembered that such an endeavor as I propose is apt to withdraw our view from the transcendent unity and universality of that which, on the philosophic side, is the philosopher's quest; and to obscure the one underlying Reality which, on the theologic aspect, unifies, supports, and binds into a World-Whole, for the theologian, the complex phenomena of the world and the varied materials of the history and psychology of religion. But this objection instantly vanishes when it is recollected that in both cases the scrutiny is made only that, from study of the endeavors of national thought, with the peculiar characteristics, varieties, excellences, and defects of such localized thought, we may come back to find more just, clear-sighted, and excellent ways of apprehending those transcendent unities and august universalities of which we have spoken. For we may certainly look on Scottish Theology as an organic growth within its own sphere or province, with national color and local peculiarities of development, and, having gained such precise view of it, we may then better relate it to the world-whole of theological thought. And indeed, amid the variations of Protestant theological thought, the Christian consciousness craves for such unifying view. Should we find in our Scottish Theology insular traditions waiting to be cast out, we shall be prepared to let them go; and should there be, in the very provincialism of our Scottish theological development, something of advantage to the world-whole of theological truth, we shall hold fast to that as most dear and good. The influences that have shaped the national character of our religious thought have been subtle and deep in kind, frequent in occurrence, and far back in time. But it is easy—as has too often been evidenced—

to overestimate the local or exclusively national influences that have gone to shape Scottish theological thought in the past. Yet the free evolution of religious belief, thought, and character in our national development, starting from the essential principles of the Reformed Theology as historic base, is what we must not only jealously preserve, but also endeavor to exhibit and express, however occult the springs and sources of such evolutionary growth may often be. There has often seemed to me to be a striking parallel between Scottish Philosophy and Scottish Theology in their respective national developments. Let me elaborate the parallel by an historical *aperçu*. Strictly taken, the term Scottish Philosophy refers to the school of Reid and those who followed him in the appeal to common sense or faith in our own nature and its fundamental deliverances, as against the pulverizing skepticism of Hume. But, more broadly taken, the term may carry us back along the line of distinctively Scottish thinkers until we come to Hutcheson, of "moral sense" fame. Professor of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow University he was for sixteen years from 1730. Farther back in our national philosophical development we have no need at present to go, unless perhaps to recall how much the revived interest in philosophical learning in Scotland was due to that inspiring figure, Andrew Melville, who had studied philosophy under Ramus, and became Principal of Glasgow University from 1574. Now, to say nothing of minor philosophers, the Scottish development after Hutcheson yielded three epoch-making thinkers—Hume, Reid, and Hamilton. These were followed by the acuteminded Ferrier, who was the beginning of the end of Scottish Philosophy. What I am concerned here and now to note is, that the Scottish Philosophy had its continuity thereafter broken by the inroads of Continental speculation upon the thought of our country during the second half of the nineteenth century. That is one fact. Another fact is that, national as was the development of the Scottish Philosophy, it was no exclusively national growth. The methods of Bacon, of Newton, and of Locke had, in the case of every one of its great representatives—Hutcheson, Hume, Reid, Stewart, Brown, and Hamilton—left an indelible impress upon its character: while Ferrier's development was so little of an exclusively national kind that he had to defend his philosophy against being thought no Scottish product at all. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, the philosophical thought of Germany freely flowed into the Scottish mind, Drs. Hutchison Stirling, and Edward Caird laying bare the secrets of Hegel and Kant. But

we have no concern to follow these two currents—the German and the Scottish—in the stream of our recent intellectual development any farther at present. I would remark, however, that I think the relations of our later and more idealistic developments to the realistic philosophy of McCosh and the Scottish thinkers might be more interestingly and suggestively set forth than has ever been done.

Turning now to Scottish Theology, I find that something analogous to what we have been considering has happened. The final outcome of the Scottish Reformation, on its more orthodox Protestant side, was Calvinism—far enough from an exclusively national product to begin with. The Calvinistic theology, whether chosen for that reason or not, did certainly seem to accord well with the religious and speculative genius of the Scottish people. The ruling idea, in the upbuilding of the Reformational theology, had been the priesthood of all believers. But in Scotland, as in England and the Netherlands, there appeared by the seventeenth century, in Calvinistic Puritanism, a dogmatism hardly behind that of dogmatic Lutheranism in its repression of the freedom of Christian men. Men like Henderson, Rutherford, and Gillespie were, in learning, piety, and power, such as never have been surpassed in the history of our Church. But Henderson was statesman rather than theologian. And Rutherford, greatest of Presbyterian scholastics, is now remembered only for his letters. The struggles, conflicts, secessions, and partisanships of the Scottish Church did not tend towards true and inspiring development on the basis of Reformed theology. The cleavage in the Church after the Revolution of 1688 does not seem to me to have been favorable to theological development either on the side of Moderatism or of what passed for Evangelicalism: if Evangelicalism too often lacked the learning and intellectual horizon for such theological progress, Moderatism seemed too frequently shorn of the spiritual fervor and profound religious experience which must ever accompany massive intellectual endowment, in order to effect great and fruitful theological achievement. There can hardly be a doubt that the balance of power held by Moderatism would have proved more favorable to freedom of theological thought, and independence of theological expression, had any great theological initiative been evidenced. But the treatment meted out to Dr. Macleod Campbell, so late as 1831, shows how little the initiatives of theological thinking were desired. Not that his work, or the broader and more eclectic thought of Erskine of Linlathen, was lost. Their

insistences on ethical inwardness, rather than the forensic externality then so common, meant a breaking up of the old dogmatic temper of Scottish Calvinism, and were the first heralds of the progressive spirit in our theology in the Victorian era. They voiced the spirit of those who had, as an English paper once put it, become "insurgent against the dismal Calvinistic decrees." The significance of their work lay in this, that they anticipated the more spiritual and expansive developments of later theology under German influences, just as, in philosophy, Ferrier anticipated the movements that should take place in philosophy under influences that likewise came from the Continent. Perhaps one ought to say that here the parallel ends, for our theology has really been less Germanized than our philosophy. The same system is still retained as base in theology. This is better, for assimilation, not transformation, is all that is desirable, even if more were possible. In every sphere of thought, and in every realm of inquiry, our own national and distinctive individuality should be strenuously maintained throughout the whole development, no matter how free the interactions of international thought. As we come nearer the middle of the nineteenth century we meet Carlyle, who had the merit to be the first to make German thought, in all its depth and richness, a living thing to this country. Of the subsequent influences of German thought, there seems no need to speak. But there does seem to be need to say that there is no greater absurdity than the notion that the Germanizing of our Theology is our need. Our need is, the living appropriation into our theological thought, as based on the essential principles of Reformed Theology, not only of all true, inspiring thought in Germany, but in the whole world of modern knowledge as it exists to-day. I confess to feeling sometimes appalled at the theological indifference and remissness of the Church in presence of the varied and enormous mass of unassimilated and unappropriated material in the great advancing development of Theology. I cannot find a single doctrine in the whole circle of cardinal truths which does not call for, and is not susceptible of, better articulation and worthier presentation in the body corporate of Christian doctrine. Of theology, no less than of philosophy, mechanical ways of thinking are the bane. Not the doctrines only call for new elaborations and concatenations, the fundamental principles even call for ampler justice to be done by their purification and rejuvenation on those sides or aspects where Ethics and Metaphysics and Sociology cry out for adjustment, appropriation, and advance. The rational defense of

Christian faith essayed in our modern Apologetics is far from having said its last word. Its prime task to-day is the rational defense of the Christian conception of God in the sphere of physical science, in the domain of psychic science, and in the realm of speculative thought. The greatness of these manifold tasks might well tax the strength, the intellectual and spiritual resources, the philosophical skill and theological genius of any man that was or is. But happily they are also tasks that yield endless and unspeakable inspirations to the true student and thinker.

Let me illustrate only a little what the times pressingly call for. I do so because I deeply feel that, however great may have been the virtues of the Reformed theology as a system, that system at many points fails, in the older modes of presentation, to appeal to thoughtful minds to-day. We can be absolutely loyal to essential principles of Reformed theology, while we do as the framers of that theology themselves claimed the right and asserted the duty to do, namely, form a theology out of our own needs, knowledge, times, and experience, as they did out of theirs. We honor these past masters of theology, but they lay no iron hand upon us to fetter the progress and freedom of our thought. We are, in fact, untrue to the principles of that theology if we do not go on unto perfection of theological conception and presentation. The face of theology must be towards the future. We seek a theology nobler, stronger, more generous, and independent than any the world has seen. Take, for example, the great objective Doctrine of God—of God in His Sovereignty—which loomed out so largely upon us in the Reformed theology. How great and how manifold are the completings, supplementings, perfectings to be effected here! To begin with, bare unrelieved sovereignty has often come down, like an awful nightmare, upon the thought of man. But theology, grown more deeply Christian, must show that with bare unrelieved sovereignty it has nothing to do: its God is one of Righteousness, Justice, Goodness, and Love—never bare and loveless Will. Strange that nothing like full justice has yet been done in modern theology to the sovereignty and absoluteness of God—so emphasized originally in Reformed theology—by adequate setting forth of that sovereignty; not on a mere monarchical basis, but as interpreted in terms of Fatherhood. I say “strange,” because—though it seems too often unknown or forgotten—Calvin had the high merit to be the first theologian for ages to give Fatherhood its rightful place in Christian experience. Pity therefore that he fell into the contradictoriness of absolute sovereignty as he

passed out from this spiritual sphere into a wider realm where for him sovereign Will was supreme. For there is no sovereignty that may be compared, in range and depth of compelling motive or in majesty of spiritual sway, with the sovereignty of Fatherhood, based on the self-impartation of Deity. Great advances lie open to theology here. The glory of God is man's great end—so spake the Calvinistic theology: it is our chief end still; only, the glory we seek is the glory of the Father. Worthy and endless sovereignty we still maintain for God, for we never dare degrade Him to any possible Arminian levels where He should be but means to His creatures' ends. The naked sovereignty of arbitrary Will in Deity, which has on till now proved troublesome to human thought, must be clearly seen to be what the Germans call an "overcome" standpoint—one that has long been, by every real theologian, thoroughly left behind. And how? By the full and clear apprehension of the fact that God as Absolute Will is not divorced from God as Absolute Reason—the significant apprehension of the fact that, in fundamental truth and reality, God as Spirit is the Absolute Reason. Verily, the old leaven of Almighty power only—of almightiness working in arbitrary caprice—must be purged out, as becomes a survival from philosophy of the Scholastic period. Of course, God is the unconditioned and all-conditioning Being, and as such His sovereignty is absolute. But that does not mean that His sovereignty is unregulated by law, for His sovereignty never can be other than ordered in perfect accordance with those eternal laws, principles, and ideals of goodness and perfection which are originally, underivedly, and everlastingly in Him. The laws and norms exist archetypally in Him, and are not imposed on Him from without. They do not condition God, but are eternal in Him. The absoluteness of God, on which Reformed Theology insisted with large and comprehensive power, is something which still calls for far more adequate elucidation and explication. It is here that philosophies of the Absolute, like that of Hegel, have helped us so greatly on the way to a philosophical theism. Of the Divine Fatherhood, of which we have spoken, there is an absoluteness to which small justice has been done in theology, even when it has passed, in treating of moral and spiritual relationships, into the characteristic sphere of God's self-expression. But, not to speak of that, the absoluteness of God in His self-revealing calls for more clear and explicit exhibition in our theological thought. This will keep us from the disastrous mistake of supposing theology proper, or true knowledge of God, to be ours merely by speculative

thinking. There is a never-to-be-forgotten absoluteness of the self-revealing Divinity which precedes our ratiocinated knowledge of Him. An absoluteness of Him, too, there is which will call for careful scrutiny of immanence theories, which sometimes seem in danger of giving the pendulum an extreme swing, to the neglect of the complemental and entirely compatible truth of transcendence. Once more, the absoluteness of God, in respect of the difficulties so often put forward by philosophy as to God's acting in space and time, is capable of more adequate representation. This is called for by the fact that not a few philosophers in our time do not appear to understand what a strictly philosophical rendering of the absolute involves in this connection. But in so doing we shall still allow God to remain the Absolute, and not suffer Him to dwindle to the place of first term in a finite chain of causes and effects: He will always be for us the Absolute Being, Who transcends the whole chain, and is the ultimate Ground of all finite power and being. 'Tis in communion with such a personal first principle—or, as the Germans say, *Urgrund*—the human spirit can alone rest. But here the philosophical objections, and the scientific difficulties also, as to Personality in God must be met and considered as second in vital importance to no other part of the theological foundation. Of God we predicate more than essence: personality is here the ultimate category. The conception of Divine Personality calls for clearing from anthropomorphic elements: it calls for showing of its compatibility with a spiritualistic monism. Suffice it now to say, nothing has yet been advanced from any quarter that need keep us from holding to Personality—stripped of its accidental limitations—in God. It were easy to find philosophers to-day, at home and abroad, who evince a truly wonderful and precise knowledge of what possibilities do not exist for Deity, when shorn of this, that, and the other human quality. But what wonder if the world remains unconvinced? I am ready to admit that, alike from the side of science and that of philosophy, it is harder than ever to retain the Personality of God. An infinite person is so apt to appear to ordinary philosophical usage a contradiction in terms, and the Infinite is so seldom distinguished with care from the All. The conception of an illimitably vast, continuous, interrelated universe, as that which the Infinite Personality must be able to fill and to form, is so unfamiliar to science that it is not always perceived how evolutionary science seems, in its theological reference, to point to mind or personality in God. What is most essential is that we transcend a merely quantitative

way of apprehending personality, so that we be not kept from entering into its spiritual and ethical implications. The Unconditioned Being is wholly ethical in His nature, and we cannot rest in any Absolute whose metaphysical attributes are not in perfect keeping with His eternal moral essence. No disclaimer of impersonality could here be more complete than that of the newer Theism, for to it impersonal spirit were a contradiction in terms. But to return to the tasks of Theology. We have more to do than dispose of the difficulties raised by Naturalism and Agnosticism, Pantheism and Pessimism; we have the positive, constructive work of producing and presenting a purified and progressive Theism—indeed, of formulating, in our own way, a new and deeply needed system of what I prefer to call Theistic Idealism. I call our Theism idealistic, both because it traces matter, originatively, to spirit, and because it makes spirit or conscious experience that through which alone created matter is known by us. But our Idealism is theistic because, eschewing the merely abstract unity of pantheistic conception whereby finite things are treated simply as elements or parts within a whole, it preserves that relative separateness and distinctness of things which are especially manifest in the case of the external world and man's conscious spirit. I say "relative" separateness and distinctness, because the Theism we seek must retain the concept of parts mutually related within one vast whole. It must relate both the external world and man's spirit to the creative power or agency of God, which calls them into being and gives them direction. Through this larger, more fundamental Reality we find our way to unity, even the unity of a spiritual Monism, and escape the ensnaring meshes of the Dualism of mind and matter. This Monism is, of course, very different from that of the Spinozist or the present day Materialist, for it is the doctrine of the Infinite Spirit of God as the one underlying Reality. This Spirit, as a unitary Being, forms the ground and principle of all other being. This Eternal Spirit is also the possibility of the interactions between individual beings and things; in a metaphysical sense, is Soul and Substance of all things; but such Monism is, at the same time, ethical, that is to say, fully retentive of human freedom and responsibility. But Theistic Philosophy, as its possibilities open out to us, is a thing so great, so difficult, yet so inspiring, as never to have found perfect, full, and adequate expression on all the numerous sides of its comprehension. Such comprehension we hope to find the highest form of knowledge, as we take up all existing and developed phases and aspects into one

organic process or self-related system, and strive to comprehend them as so many vital elements of one vast totality. God, as real, indivisible, and sole essence, is the entire fullness of possible being, and He is the whole fullness of thought, its possibility, and its fulfillment. We shall need and welcome all the helps of philosophy, our greatest aid and fastest ally in this connection, for while faith may, by its own vital acts, implicitly free us from thraldoms of doubt, yet the overcoming of standpoints beset with difficulty will only be effected through philosophy making explicit for our thought what is contained in the spiritual consciousness. It is still true that Reason alone can heal the wounds of reason. The help of Philosophy is needed that Theology may attain and sustain its own theistic and Christian interpretation of the Universe—an interpretation which, as the highest of all, leaves Theology still the queen of the sciences. If in these tasks we have to examine such forms of thought as Positivism, Pantheism, Idealism, Deism, and Agnosticism, and to review such categories as being, substance, force, cause, finality, and *ens extra-mundandum*, it will be that we may find some interpretation adequate to explain all experience. But we do not mean to lose our religion in philosophy, which is not above religion, but only superior to defective and imperfect interpretations of religious experience. Philosophy yields us prime aid in validating for thought such experience. Indeed, the finest and the final Apologetic for Christianity to-day will just be a Philosophy of Religion in which not so many grounds or evidences shall be set forth, but a fundamental and universal ground of all these shall be exhibited as an organic first principle, related to which religion is seen to be an universal and necessary factor in the life of man, while Christianity appears in its natural place as the crown of all such religion. It can, of course, be objected to such philosophic procedure that it involves considerable assumptions, such as that a system which satisfies our highest wants must needs be adequate, and that the Universe, as science unfolds it, is regulated in its government with express regard to the needs of such transient beings as we are. But, if we are not to be doomed to intellectual chaos in our thinking, it is precisely to such a faith in the peerless worth of the moral and the spiritual that we are impelled—a worth of the spiritual so indefeasible and absolute that it becomes the most reasonable and necessary of all assumptions to hold that for the spiritual the Universe does and must exist. We are strengthened in making this assumption when we reflect that the universe is one vast coherent whole, and that as we are

idealistic enough to admit that Nature cannot even be conceived or known by us in perception but by the consciousness to which it is object, so also nature is relative to spirit in the original constitution of things. Indeed, nature is thus for us a really necessary groundwork for the manifestations of the spiritual. It is important to remember that it is just in this conjunction of nature and spirit that the possibilities of experience and knowledge spring up for us. Far more clearly than the immortal Kant, in his famous transcendental proof from the possibility of experience, has Goethe spoken on the subject when he has said that "everything" which we call "discovery, in the higher sense of the word, is the serious exercise and activity of an original feeling for truth, which, after a long course of silent cultivation, suddenly flashes out into fruitful knowledge. It is a revelation working from within on the outer world, and it lets a man feel that he is made in the image of God. It is a synthesis of World and Mind, giving the most blessed assurance of eternal harmony." But this, I say, is just the synthesis of Theism with which, as the result of many converging lines of argument, we are so deeply concerned—a synthesis in which we look out upon the world as the intelligible work of a supreme and rational Being, and within upon ourselves as made after His likeness, with many capabilities of understanding the world so made. The whole philosophy of religion has for its business the incalculably important work of obviating the difficulties that beset the theistic hypothesis, as an hypothesis whereby we are not only saved from unreason and despair, but which is forced upon us by the whole nature of experience, not to speak of processes of cogent reasoning. The pure and worthy anthropocosmic Theism which we seek is one which combines the Aryan conception of God as Ground of the world of nature with the Semitic stress on a God who is Lord over nature and Father of spirits. The ultimate rationale of the world is only to be found in theistic evolution, wherein the presence of a spiritual agency renders explicable the order of the organic world, the continuous character of the result of growth amid variation, and other phenomena which no other hypothesis has been able to explain. So also upon the metaphysical side. If personality is that which gives to man his unity as an unanalyzed self or individual consciousness—if, as persons, we remain identical in midst of change and so are potentially infinite as we abolish externality and subdue the world unto ourselves—we can see how the difficulties that surround the conception of an Infinite Person begin to vanish, and how personality is, in truth,

the only real form of infinitude known to us. Our recent philosophy of Theism has been finding the beginnings of such personality in the ontological proof of perfect Being: it has gathered strength for its conclusion in the apparent cosmological craving for will as the originative force or power; it has gained confirmation from the intelligence that marks the teleological reasoning; and it has reached the highest seal of self-existent personality in the evidences of man's mind and of moral law. Those illogical and absurd types of modern Agnosticism which would prevent the possibility of such rational theistic faith being established, may well be reckoned as the deadliest foes to religion and deserving of severe and timely theological chastening. But if pure Agnosticism be impossible, and a positive world-conception must be found in the Christian idea of God, then is made evident the need for our Apologetic treatment of all questions where faith in God meets, or conflicts with, the problems of science and of philosophy. It is because religion is an attitude towards the transcendent that, as such, it must have for its interpretation a philosophy. This, of course, does not mean that religion is to be subordinated to philosophy—far from it; but it does mean that the knowledge and philosophy of religion must have place in that knowledge which, in its entirety, constitutes philosophy. In very truth, such rational interpretation of religion is one of the greatest aims of philosophy. If you look over the vast reaches of the history of human thought, you will find that everywhere religion has been the schoolmaster to lead men to philosophy, and that the great philosophic minds have, with amazing frequency, begun their interest in ultimate problems as these were presented by religion, whence they passed, under pressure of the needs of the logical understanding, to philosophy. It should be remembered that, while the Biblical theologian renders us the great service of making clear the teachings of religion, it is the philosophical theologian who saves for us the bases of religion itself—makes religion possible, credible, rational, inevitable. In all the vexatious issues that may or can arise between religion and science, philosophy holds for us the important place of being final court of appeal. Then one or other will be found to have been mechanical and lop-sided. But, I will here ask, if philosophy teaches us to view the world in whole as unitary being or spiritual organism, why should we not freely give ourselves up to some sort of spiritual monism, in keeping with our faith in one God, Who is over all and in all, Who gives law and final purpose to all? It needs to be said to-day that there is profound and abiding necessity

for a metaphysical background in theology. Metaphysics has its own peculiar light to shed on the basal problems of theology, while theology remains the touchstone and support of any thoroughgoing metaphysic. It should be clear that never without the metaphysical presuppositions so involved can we arrive at any real Philosophy of Religion: we should stop short at a merely inductive treatment of the factual materials. What I have now been advancing amounts to this, that, while perfectly loyal to the broad and simple bases of faith laid in our Reformed theology, our Scottish Theology of to-day must instantly and intently pursue the rearing thereupon of an Apologetic structure which shall be thoroughly modern, and free of the one-sidedness which at one time has made theology eschew the varied culture of its own time, and at another has rendered it too pliant before partial and particular theories of its own age. Christianity has not only inexhaustible youth and vitality, but, in virtue of its imperishable life, has complete power of retrieval and perpetual capacity for new adjustments. Before the science of to-day, such an up-to-date and essentially modern Apologetic will accord welcome to all the scientist holds of intrinsic value and indubitable truth. For it is well aware that Theology, as the reflex of Christian thought and experience, must not only welcome the modifying impact of the sciences, but should, as the science of the sciences, itself lead the van of intellectual progress. Before the philosophy of to-day, our Apologetic will extend to the philosopher the amplest freedom to work out his harmonization of religious tenets with those ultimate conceptions of reality, and those final judgments of value, with which he is wont to deal. It will afford free play to the emotional element raised into prominence by Schleiermacher, the intellectualistic elements brought into relief by Hegel, and the ethical element emphasized by Ritschl, for it knows that our theological faith is the resultant of life—life impelled by man's highest reason, under the varied influences and vastly numerous experiences that shape and sum our faith, on its subjective side. But the Apologetic that shall so take account of the science and philosophy, the art and social ideals and organization, of modern life will obviously be a greater, more impressive, more vital structure than has ever been reared, or indeed than may ever be perfectly realized; but it is the ever-present, ever-advancing ideal that must be kept before us, and can by no possibility be relinquished. How else is Christian faith going to prove its claim to absoluteness and finality, before the agnosticisms, the irreligions, and the non-Christian

systems of the time, but by such a rich, manifold, and progressive actualization of its own ideal of the coming Kingdom of God—a kingdom to be realized, to the utmost of present possibility and capacity, in the thought and life of that redeemed society which forms the Church of the Living God?

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V.

SCHWENCKFELD'S PARTICIPATION IN THE EUCCHARISTIC CONTROVERSY OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.*

FIRST ARTICLE.

THE eucharistic controversies of the Reformation, like the related Christological controversies of the ancient Church, present, on the whole, a disheartening picture; one in which the harsh uncharitableness, not to say the violent hatred, among brethren professing devotion to a common Lord is too seldom relieved by examples of heroic fidelity to religious convictions, combined with the conciliatory spirit of Christian love. In each case the conflict was followed by momentous and in part disastrous consequences in the spheres both of constructive theologizing and of ecclesiastical and political life. In each case, however, the issues involved must be said, when their full significance is realized, to have been worth the arduous attempt made to settle them.

* Schwenckfeld's works have never been published in full. Four folio volumes which appeared shortly after his death contain his most important literary remains. They bear the following titles: (1) *Epistolar Des Edlen von Gott hochbegnadeten theuren Manns Caspar Schwenckfeldts von Ossing, seliger gedächtnis, Christliche Lehrhafft Missiven oder Sendbrieff, die er in zeit seines Lebens vom XXV. Jare bis auff das LV. geschrieben, etc., etc. Der Erste Theil. 1566. Pp. XXVII, 880.* (2) *Epistolar des Edlen von Gott hochbegnadeten Herren Caspar Schwenckfeldts von Ossing, Christliche leerhafft Sendbrieffe und schrifftten die er in Zeit seines lebens vom XXV. Jare an biss auff das LXI. geschriben, etc. Der Ander Theil in vier Bücher unterscheiden. 1570. Pp. 146 and 678.* (The pages of this volume bear the caption, *Sendbrieff von der Bepstischen Leere und Glauben.* It is the first of four books that were to have contained his correspondence in regard to the four great parties in the Church of his day, the Romanists, the Lutherans, the Zwinglians, and the Anabaptists. But the third and fourth books or volumes never appeared.) (3) *Das zweite Bueh des andern theils des Epistolars. Darinn Herren Caspar Schwenckfeldts Sendbrieffe begriffen, die er auf der Lutherischen Glauben, Leere, Sacrament und Kirehen, zum theil an Lutherische, zum theil sonst an gutherzige Personen geschrieben. 1570. Pp. 1022.* (4) *Der Erste Theil Der Christlichen Orthodoxischen Bücher und schrifftten des Edlen, theuren Caspar Schwenckfeldts vom Hauss Ossing, etc., etc. 1564 Pp. 974.* (The other parts of this series also never appeared.) These four volumes are cited in the following by the symbols A, B, C, D, respectively. The numerous smaller volumes containing material in regard to the eucharistic controversy are cited by the titles of the separate treatises or letters found in them.

The Lord's Supper had, of course, been an important subject of controversy in the Middle Ages.* But it was reserved for the evangelical spirit of the sixteenth century not only to undermine the dogma of transubstantiation sanctioned by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, but also to bring into clearer prominence many a hitherto neglected factor of the problem concerning the sacramental feast. The issue was far from being merely liturgical.† The contest was so long and bitter just because it was rightly understood that the most precious treasures of the rediscovered Gospel were at stake. The mere statement of the controverted points led thinking men to connect their views of the Supper with the deepest verities of their faith. It lay in the nature of the case, therefore, that sooner or later nearly every dogmatic problem of the day would be related to the question which, above all others, was beginning to divide the Protestants.

In ascertaining the nature and value of the contribution made by any one of the reformers to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper it is necessary, therefore, to consider his views both from the standpoint of the fundamental principles of his system of thought and in the light of his historical surroundings. For to none of the contestants did the eucharistic question appear as an end in itself, nor could any one of them attempt the solution of the problem without coming into conflict with various classes of opponents.

To these considerations special weight ought to be given in the case of Caspar Schwenckfeld.‡ For on the one hand he belongs to that class of theological writers who have had the misfortune of being seriously misunderstood because persistently

* Loofs, however, in his article, "Abendmahl," in Hauck's *Realencyklopädie*, I, p. 65, is unduly anxious to maintain that, barring Carlstadt's theory, the "positive thoughts of the Reformation period" concerning the eucharist are "not new." The context, to be sure, restricts this generalization to more moderate bounds. Certainly so far as Schwenckfeld, for example, is concerned, Loofs' statement can be applied only to the finally accepted symbolic doctrines of the Supper. Cf. Goetz, *Die Abendmahlsfrage in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, p. 75, n. 2.

† It is interesting to observe, however, as Harnack reminds us (*Dogmengeschichte*, III³, pp. 746, 762), that it is possible in a sense to construe Luther's whole reformation as a "reformation of the public worship." Rome had made the mass the very centre of her church service, and the work of the reformers in its negative but at the same time its most direct bearings was an attack in the name of subjective religion upon the citadel of the Romish liturgy.

‡ The spelling of the name is by no means uniform. Kriebel, *The Schwenckfelders in Pennsylvania*, p. 1, n. 1, cites thirteen variations, and others might be added. Schneider gives some valid reasons in favor of the consonantal combination *ck* and a final *d* instead of *dt* or only *t*. See his tract, *Ueber den geschichtlichen Verlauf der Reformation in Liegnitz*, etc., Abt. 1, p. 27, n. 10.

branded as "mysties."* It is of course to be admitted that his religious life revealed itself more in the language of strong and deep feeling than in any clearly articulated system of dialectics. It is likewise true, as Dorner† reminds us, that it must have been easy for his contemporaries to represent his ideas as "only a perverse lot of the most wondrous idiosyncrasies." Moreover, he shows many points of contact and signs of kinship with some of the extreme spiritualistic fanatics. But for this very reason it is necessary to cast aside all prejudices and to lay hold of the inner connections, if such can be found, among these alleged fantastic and heterogeneous elements. Great credit is here due to Erbkam,‡ whose treatment of Schwenckfeld is still, on the whole, the best; and to Baur,§ who with his usual critical acumen saw the possibility and the need of doing Schwenckfeld a needed service by bringing out more clearly the hidden speculative elements of his system.|| These and other writers have accustomed students of Schwenckfeld to the double conviction, not only that his views have a coherence that makes them worthy of investigation, but that of all the dissenting thinkers of the German Reformation he is the most

* That the epithet in some sense may properly be applied to Schwenckfeld it would be idle to deny. But what after all is mysticism? Inge, in his *Bampton Lectures* (1899) on *Christian Mysticism*, ventures the assertion (p. 1): "No word in our language—not even 'Socialism'—has been employed more loosely than 'Mysticism,'" and in the Appendix he cites and criticises some twenty-six attempts by men of all schools of thought to define the term. With what propriety we may speak of Schwenckfeld as a mystic will, we hope, become thoroughly clear as we proceed. For the present it may be most advantageous to content ourselves with the statement that the word may as a matter of fact have a good as well as a bad sense.

† *Lehre von der Person Christi*, p. 624.

‡ *Geschichte der protestantischen Sekten*, pp. 357–475.

§ *Die christliche Lehre von der Versöhnung in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung* (1838); *Die christl. Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit*, etc. (1843); *Zur Geschichte der prot. Mystik*, in *Theol. Jahrbücher* (1848).

|| Baur of course had no intention of converting Schwenckfeld the mystic into Schwenckfeld the rationalist, but the transformation, easy enough in itself and doubtless most congenial to a mind like Baur's, may be said, in spite of the retention of the word "mysticism," to have been fairly accomplished. After all it is only a matter of taking Schwenckfeld's temperature at different times, now catching him in the warmth of a fervent piety and now finding him on the chilly heights of some abstract speculation. But though Baur (*Theologische Jahrbücher*, 1848, p. 527) professes to be able to distinguish the "speculative content of the ideas from the peculiar form in which they have found expression," he can scarcely be acquitted of the charge of reading into Schwenckfeld some of his own ideas as to how the reformer might have avoided apparent or real contradictions. Dorner (*l.c.*, p. 625) gives a truer judgment: "Doch kann auch nicht behauptet werden, dass er sich stets gleich blieb oder dass nicht unlösbare Widersprüche in seinem System liegen."

systematic.* Whatever estimate we may form of his "mysticism," we shall expect to discover in him at least somewhat more of logic and speculative strength than the traditional prejudices permitted some of the earlier historical writers to find.†

Not only, however, does the alleged mystical character of Schwenckfeld's theologizing necessitate our bringing his doctrine of the Supper into the closest possible relation to his whole system, but it is likewise more than ordinarily important, on the other hand, to interpret such views as his in the light of the historical situation in which he found himself. This is so not only because of the unusually extensive connections which he had with the most diverse parties in the Church,‡ but more particularly because every mystical movement in history is necessarily colored by the specific forms of religious deadness against which it rises to utter its protest.

Fortunately Schwenckfeld informs us with admirable fullness concerning his relations to his contemporaries.§ Born about 1490,|| of an ancient and aristocratic family in Ossig, near Lüben, in Silesia, reared a strict Catholic, educated at Liegnitz, Cologne, Frankfort-on-the-Oder, and at other but unknown institutions, serving about twelve years at the courts of several Silesian princes, this deeply religious young nobleman became one of the first in

* Comp. Ficker, *Handschriften des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Kleine Ausgabe, Tafel 27, p. 75: "Er ist unter den religiösen Subjectivisten der Systematiker: sein mystischer Spiritualismus ist mit einem dogmatischen System verbunden, welches seine Ueberzeugungen geschlossener wirken lässt."

† See, e.g., Planck's capricious statement (*Geschichte der Entstehung . . . unseres protestantischen Lehrbegriffs*, Vol. V, Th. 1, p. 184): "Diess war wenigstens im Ganzen die Wendung, welche die Ideen Schwenckfelds genommen, oder diess war ungefähr die Form, in welcher sich seine Phantasie alles, was dabei für die Vernunft undenkbar war, denkbar gemacht hatte. Es ist leicht möglich, dass sie sich zu Zeiten in seinem Kopf auf eine etwas verschiedene Art zusammenfügten, denn Vorstellungen, die keinen vernünftigen Zusammenhang zulassen, sind der mannigfaltigsten Zusammensetzung fähig."

‡ In this fact lies the chief justification for Keller's assertion (*Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien*, p. 463): "Es wäre von der höchsten Wichtigkeit, die umfangreiche und interessante Correspondenz Schwenckfelds ans Licht zu ziehen; man würde überraschende Resultate daraus gewinnen."

§ But his works present only meagre details as to his early life. Hoffmann's account, *Caspar Schwenckfelds Leben und Lehren*, I, extending to only 1524 and constituting the first of six parts of what may become an adequate biography, draws largely from other important sources. Keim and Gerbert present the leading facts concerning Schwenckfeld's career in southern Germany. Hanj e, *Zur Biographie Kaspars von Schwenckfeld*, 1882, is minute but brief, extending to 1539. Arnold, Salig, Planck, Döllinger, Erbkam, etc., give only the salient biographical data.

|| Neither the date of his birth (1489 or 1490) nor that of his death (1561 or 1562) has as yet been fixed.

that section of Germany to embrace the evangelical cause.* Compelled in 1521 by reason of an affection of the ear to return to private life, he became a diligent student of the Scriptures.† He kept in touch with the leaders of the new movement, making several trips to Wittenberg and exchanging letters with Luther himself. Devoted heart and soul to the task of establishing the Reformation in Silesia, he secured in 1523 the able coöperation of a former notary and canon, Valentine Krautwald.

But irreconcilable differences soon arose between Schwenckfeld and the Wittenbergers, resulting in 1527 in a complete and irremediable rupture. It is therefore worth while ascertaining, at the very outset, the logic of this event, the real turning-point in his career as a reformer.

He had prided himself upon being an ardent disciple of Luther,‡ and though from the beginning he could not entirely agree with him,§ he never forgot the incalculable service the great reformer had rendered to the cause of religion.|| The force of sacred convictions, however, proved stronger than this sense of gratitude, deepened though it was by a peculiar reverence for his

* The exact date of his conversion cannot be fixed. Hoffmann, p. 10, is inclined to put it as early as 1517; Möller is at least safe in declaring that by 1519 Schwenckfeld had been won to the Lutheran cause (*Kirchengeschichte*, III, p. 444).

† Greek and Hebrew he seems to have acquired considerably later, certainly not before 1528. Cf. Erbkam, *l.c.*, p. 363, n. 1. Hase is clearly in error, however, when he declares (*Kirchengeschichte*, III, 1, p. 300): "Noch in seinem 64. Jahre lernte er Griechisch, um mit eigenen Augen zuzusehen, was Christus geredet habe." Letters and treatises written long before this evince a considerable knowledge of the Greek Testament and the Fathers.

‡ C 300d (anno 1531): "Ich habe mich der Lutherischen Lehre erkundet und seines Evangelii gebraucht mit möglichem Fleiss acht Jahre." Cf. C. 574c: "Denn ich habe, ohne Ruhm zu reden, in Doctor Luthers Büchern wohl so viel als Ihr studiert und (wollt mir's verzeihen) vielleicht ehe Ihr das a, b, c gelernt viel seiner Schriften mit möglichem Fleiss hinten und vorn gelesen, auch mit Gebet nach der Regel Pauli *omnia probate* fleissig erforscht und bewäret."

§ B 193b: "dass ich mit ihrem Evangelio nicht stimme, auch von Anfang nie gänzlich gestimmt habe."

|| Nothing more beautifully reveals Schwenckfeld's nobility of character than the oft-repeated expressions of his grateful appreciation of Luther's world-historical importance, even after the latter had coined the vulgar nickname "Stenkfeld" and in other ways outdone himself in vituperative abuse. See especially C 499 sq., 599d, D 4, 5, 6, 526, and C 701d, where he informs Luther under date of October 12, 1543: "Denn ob ich wohl nicht in allen Puncten euch kann unterschreiben, noch mit euch stimmen, so erkenne ich doch, dass ich euch nach Gott und der Wahrheit alle Ehre, Liebe, und Güte schuldig, weil ich eures Dienstes anfänglich mitgenossen, so wohl als ich Gott den Herrn für euch nach meinem armen Vermögen zu bitten noch nicht habe unterlassen." Cf. C 745b, 690d.

spiritual father. Schwenckfeld perceived that his whole conception of Christianity differed so radically from Luther's that there was no possibility of a substantial agreement.* The common representation, not sufficiently modified even by Erbkam and Hahn that the divergencies of opinion related primarily and chiefly to the eucharistic controversy opened by Carlstadt in 1524 fails, as Baur has pointed out,† to look at the facts from the right angle. The causes of the break must be distinguished from its mere occasion. Prior to all questions about the nature of the Lord's presence in the sacramental ordinance or about the constitution of his person is the consideration of his very purpose or mission in the world. Nothing less than the whole problem of the nature of salvation—the question how the sinful soul may be reunited with God—was Schwenckfeld's basal concern. He could not accept Luther's explanation of the Supper, but this inability was only indicative of, and conditioned by, his inability to accept without safeguarding modifications the doctrine which his chief opponent came to regard as the article of a standing or falling Church, justification by faith alone. Implied in this, as we shall see, was a generically different view as to the Word, the Sacraments, and the Church, and likewise as to the nature of the process of salvation itself.

Schwenckfeld, we repeat, was governed at the outset by thoroughly practical considerations. He wanted the new presentation of the gospel to bring forth, in the lives of his fellow-men, an abundant fruit unto holiness. He was deeply grieved by some of those epigrammatic but easily misunderstood half-truths with which Luther so often sought to help his own and his partisans' faith. He feared, and his experience more and more justified his fears, that Luther's gospel was becoming popular at the expense, to some extent, of

* The influence on Schwenckfeld of the mystical Tauler and the *German Theology* only widened the gulf. Schwenckfeld (C 596a) speaks with admiration, though not with unconditional approval, of his teacher Tauler. The fact is that Schwenckfeld forsook Luther for Tauler, whereas Luther, in opposition to the fanatical excesses of some of the spiritualists, felt it necessary more and more to recede from Tauler and to check the subjective tendencies he had himself championed in the opening days of the Reformation. Even before the disturbances at Wittenberg, however, Luther's mysticism began to decline. It must be said to have reached its summit as early as 1518 or 1519. Cf. Hering, *Die Mystik Luthers*, etc., p. 292 sq.

† *Theol. Jahrb.*, 1848, pp. 504–506; cf. also his *Lehre von der Versöhnung*, p. 462. For whatever fault may be found with Baur's one-sided emphasis on the speculative elements in Schwenckfeld at the expense of the strictly practical, that is of the religious and moral as distinguished from the theological or philosophic interests that dominated the reformer, there can be no doubt that in the main his strictures upon Hahn and Erbkam are borne out by the facts.

sound morality.* He deplored the lack of good works, the absence of strict discipline, the interference of the avaricious princes in the affairs of the Church, and the manifestly false security of many professed Christians the chief article of whose creed was that their organization was the only one worthy of comparison with that of the Apostles. The Lutherans are often characterized, along with the Romanists, as Antichrist, because, according to him, they have no spiritual discernment, but mistake the letter for the spirit, a historical for a vital faith in Christ.†

The real nature and extent of the differences will become more apparent as we proceed. Enough has been said to give point to the present contention that the divergencies on the eucharistic question were after all only symptomatic of those deeper differences that concerned the very essence of the faith.‡

Unable as Schwenckfeld was to identify himself with the Lutheran movement, he had become too thorough a Protestant to find it possible to reënter the Roman Church. He is well aware, indeed, that his works were at times better received by the Romanists than by the Lutherans,§ and in 1528 he even declares that if only

* This does not mean, as the charge so often but falsely brought against Luther's gospel maintains, that he furnished no adequate basis or motive for ethical conduct. On the contrary, no one of the reformers better understood either the need or the method of supplying morality with the motive power of a deep religious faith. But his words not seldom seemed to mock his principles, and unfortunately his devoted followers were apt to swear by the caricature of their leader rather than by his real self. Cf. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, III³, p. 784, n. 1, and Seeberg, *Dogmengeschichte*, II, p. 244, n. 1.

† This charge has of course ever been a familiar expedient in the hands of spiritualistic heretics. For a well-selected list of passages from Schwenckfeld's works concerning the undeniable ethical deficiencies of the German Reformation, see Döllinger, *Die Reformation*, I, pp. 257-280. The testimony of other writers, there given, shows by contrast Schwenckfeld's fairness and moderation. Luther himself was as severe as any of the other censors (p. 295 sq.).

‡ See, e.g., the *Erklärung etlicher streitiger Artikel beim Missbrauch des Evangelii*, etc., in D 375 sqq., where no one of the five "abused" articles explicitly refers to the eucharist. Cf. also C, pp. 1009-1012, where in parallel columns Schwenckfeld compares and contrasts twelve cardinal articles of his faith with those of the Lutherans, only two of the points dealing directly with the Supper and a third indirectly. The high Lutheran Kurtz (*Kirchengeschichte*, 9. Aufl., 2. B., p. 150) therefore fails to do justice to Schwenckfeld when he declares: "Was Schwenckfeld an der luth. Reformation so sehr zuwider, war nichts anders als ihre feste biblisch-kirchliche Objectivität." Rather was it primarily the externalism of Luther's movement that provoked his opposition and caused his deeply spiritual nature to develop a radically different conception of Christianity. To be sure, Schwenckfeld could not grasp Luther in his entirety, nor even do justice to his doctrine of justification. On the other hand, it ought not to be forgotten that Luther's words were peculiarly liable to misinterpretation.

§ B 460ab.

he could have freedom of conscience he would rather join the former than the latter.* But the logic of his situation kept him true to Protestantism. He rejected the hierarchy, the priesthood, the mass, the confessional, and the ceremonialism of the Romish Church, as well as all her dogmas that clashed with his distinctive peculiarities. If the Lutherans made too much of the letter of Scripture to the neglect of its spirit, the Romanists made too much of meritorious works to the disparagement of genuine faith. Rome gave too much scope to the mere traditions of men. In fine, he was bound as a real Protestant to oppose Roman Catholicism.

Between Romanism and Lutheranism Schwenckfeld sought to establish the "Reformation of the Middle Way." He declares: "There are now in general two leading parties that misuse the Gospel of Christ, inasmuch as the one departs in many particulars to the left, and the other to the right, from the only straight and true way of the Lord. The first party is that of the papacy, that despises the Gospel of Christ with his saving ministry, and will not perceive the salutary grace of God that has been manifested nor the clearer light of revealed truth, but abides and perseveres, in doctrine and life, in its old errors."† "The other party consists of those whom God has in these days granted a gracious light, in which they to a certain extent perceive what is right and Christian, but who by no means live up to this light, although they wish to be regarded as evangelical; indeed, they make the Gospel minister to their pride, greed, lust, and ambition, to their crimes and misdeeds, to serve as a defense for their sinful living. These, much as they pretend to be better and more evangelical than others, are rather a dishonor, disgrace, and mocking-stock to the evangelical truth and name, while they live unevangelically, without the fear of God and without regard for man, in spite of all their praise for the Gospel."‡

In many important respects, however, Schwenckfeld must be conceived not as a mediator between Romanism and Lutheranism, but as the spokesman of a more advanced reform movement. He often speaks of the Anabaptists as a third party in the Church of his day, and it cannot be doubted that there was an inner kinship between him and them. He was in unmistakable sympathy with their disciplinary zeal. He had come under the influence of

* C 645d.

† D 356d.

‡ D 360a. Cf. also p. 710c, on the right mean between the papacy and Lutheranism, and C 655d.

their spiritualistic individualism, and heartily shared their tendency to make light of the sacraments. He early counseled the abolition of infant baptism, or at least the reduction of the sacrament to a mere "ecclesiastical baptism," to be later reinforced by the true baptism of the Spirit. During his many wanderings in southern Germany he preferred to labor in fields that had been visited by Anabaptists. So closely related, in fact, are the subjective tendencies of Schwenckfeld and these more radical leaders that he has been regarded by some as a real adherent of this party.*

But he cannot justly be classified with the Anabaptists. He wanted toleration for them,† but this was only in keeping with his advanced ideas concerning the freedom of conscience in matters of religion.‡ He did, to be sure, confess: "The Anabaptists are for this reason more to my liking, because they concern themselves somewhat more than many of the learned for the divine truth."§ But he declares explicitly that he is no adherent of this sect,|| and that he will never become one.¶ It is a fact, moreover, that the Anabaptists themselves rejected his views and persecuted him.** He, on the other hand, was opposed to their pitiable legalism, their ecclesiastical externalism and exclusiveness, and their lack of "spiritual knowledge."††

Schwenckfeld commonly speaks, in the last place, of a fourth Christian Church or sect of his day, the Zwinglians. From their mediating position between the Romanists and Lutherans on the one hand and the Anabaptists on the other, one might suppose that the persecuted nobleman would have found some way of coming to terms with this party. But here too the differences concerning the eucharist were only of secondary importance.

At first, to be sure, the mediators of southern Germany, especially

* Keller, *e.g.*, says: "obwohl die ganze Welt wusste, dass Schwenckfeld im Grunde ein Wiedertäufer war." See *Die Reformation*, etc., p. 463.

† A 98, and compare the Latin letter to Bucer published by Schneider, *Ueber den geschichtlichen Verlauf der Reformation in Liegnitz*, etc., Abt. I, Beilage III, p. 37.

‡ See, *e.g.*, A 78 sq., 869 sq., 874 sqq. It is in view of such strong assertions that Dr. Hartranft, *Prospectus concerning the Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum*, 1884, speaks of Schwenckfeld as the man "who of all the leaders of the Reformation penetrated furthest into the spirit of religious liberty, who asserted its principles with unequivocal faithfulness and unflinching courage."

§ C 307b.

|| Cf. D 375, 16a, A 490a.

¶ B 155c.

** C 1012 and D 371 sqq.

†† A 513, 801-808.

Bucer, Capito, and Zell of Strassburg, cordially received him.* In 1524 Æcolampadius of Basel even ventured, in his contest with the Wittenbergers, to publish, without the author's consent or knowledge, a letter of Schwenckfeld's that contained some characteristic anti-Lutheran views. Zwingli afterwards did the same with Schwenckfeld's first treatise—it was a letter to some Strassburg friends—on the Lord's Supper. But however much the Silesian might have in common with the Swiss as against Luther, there was no possibility of agreeing in any positive view of the eucharist. Schwenckfeld, moreover, took as much offense at Zwingli's as at Luther's doctrine of predestination.† In fact the antagonisms here, as in the case of the Romanists, Lutherans, and Anabaptists, involved the basal elements of the Christian faith.‡

In no one of the four chief branches of the divided Church, therefore, could Schwenckfeld feel at home. "Why should any one be surprised," he inquires, "if I or any other simple-minded man should now concern himself about the Christian Church and try to find where it is, inasmuch as among the four leading Churches one openly condemns the others? The papal Church condemns the Lutheran, the Lutheran condemns the Zwinglian, the Zwinglian persecutes the Anabaptists, and the Anabaptists condemn all others. But inasmuch as Christ is not divided, and his Spirit is a spirit of concord and not of dissension, He cannot, it is manifest, be ruling in all at the same time."§ It would be doing Schwenckfeld a grave injustice, therefore, to attribute to him any vain desire to found a new sect.|| He repeatedly avers that he has no pleasure in being regarded as the head of the "Schwenckfelders." It was loyalty to his convictions, as he understood the truths of revelation, that compelled him to maintain this four-cornered contest. Attacked and persecuted by all the great parties, he defended himself by means of an astonishing literary activity. Having left Silesia late in 1528 or early in 1529, in order not to be a source of trouble to his friend and patron, the Duke of Liegnitz, he spent the

* Gerbert, *Geschichte der Strassburger Sectenbewegung zur Zeit der Reformation*, 1889, is especially to be consulted on Schwenckfeld's relations to these men. See p. 135 for Capito's favorable judgment of the Silesian as late as 1534.

† He called it a *dogma Platonium* and a *fatum Stoicum*; D 418ab, cf. 407a, 415 sq.

‡ Schwenckfeld seldom names Calvin, and doubtless he knew little of his distinctive doctrines. Their views in many particulars, as we shall have occasion to observe, present striking resemblances. But the presuppositions, it is needless to add, are irreconcilably different.

§ A 95ed.

|| C 571b.

rest of his life in southern Germany, roaming from city to city, gathering his followers in quiet conventicles, answering the many letters of inquiry addressed to him, gaining special influence among the nobles and the lowly, and inspiring all with his own spirit of toleration, courage, and sincerity.

Such, in broad outline, is the historical situation in which Schwenckfeld developed and sought to popularize his peculiar conception of the rediscovered Gospel. Unable to identify himself with any of the leading movements of religious thought, he was nevertheless deeply influenced by them all. His spiritualistic tendencies were everywhere colored, as was inevitable, by the theological formulas of the age. His characteristic opinions are the product of his peculiar "mysticism," influenced by the types of thought in the four chief branches of the Church as known to him, Romanism, Lutheranism, Zwinglianism, and Anabaptism.

It is our purpose, therefore, to examine his views from the precise angle from which this historical situation constantly compelled him to set them forth, from the standpoint of the eucharistic controversy.

It will be most advantageous to begin with Schwenckfeld's conception of the sacraments in general. This will introduce us to the presuppositions of his whole system of thought, and enable us to estimate aright his positive contribution to the many-sided discussion of the Supper.

Our author's language concerning the nature of the sacraments is not devoid of that carelessness as to terminology which renders so many of his statements difficult of interpretation. At first sight, indeed, it might appear that, at least so far as "the means of grace" are concerned, there is little room for doubt as to his precise meaning. The many misrepresentations of his views, however, clearly prove that the matter is not so simple as a casual reading might lead one to suppose. Occasional utterances, taken apart from their context, have been made to support the extreme assertion that he deprived the sacraments of all objective content, efficacy, and worth whatsoever. On the other hand, there are statements which would not be out of place in any fair exposition of the Reformed or even the Lutheran doctrine of the means of grace. Manifestly we must, if possible, find a logical mean between such apparently contradictory views.

In the first place, therefore, full justice must be done to Schwenckfeld's unequivocal opposition to the term *Gnadenmittel*. Only a few of the numberless passages can be cited. "In fine, the doc-

trine of means is an old sophistical doctrine, by which the hearts are turned away from Christ in heaven down toward the creatures,* in order there to find grace.”† “We on the contrary affirm that all who seek salvation through creaturely means or external things, no matter what they may be called, and not exclusively through the sole mediator, the man Jesus Christ, are false teachers and lead away from Christ, who is the only way, the door, means and mediator, through whom we draw nigh unto God.”‡ “Christ will give us himself through the Holy Spirit, not through bodily means or men, but through himself, in order that we by daily eating in faith his flesh and blood may have fellowship with him and become partakers of his nature and essence.”§ “God must himself, apart from all external means, through Christ move the soul, speak to it, work in it, if we are to have any experience of salvation and eternal life.”|| “Just as the Head is the Saviour of the whole body, so he [*i.e.*, any reader of Ephesians 5] will soon find that here no bodily, external means or instrument can intervene as little as between the vine and its branches.”¶ Again, we are told “that the Eternal and Almighty God, whom nothing can resist, does not work through means or instruments like a cobbler or tailor, but he acts freely and effects our salvation through himself, in Christ His Son, although he also uses the service of the creatures to the praise of his grace and for the good of man; but he is not bound thereto.”**

Schwenckfeld's application of these basal principles to the sacrament of the Supper resulted, as is well known, in his dispensing altogether with the observance of this ordinance. The fierce disputes about the eucharist that prevailed even among the seven factions of the Lutherans themselves,†† and in general the attention, one-sided and excessive as he thought, that was paid to external rites, led the reformer to counsel his followers to abstain, for the time being, from all participation in this act of worship.‡‡

Schwenckfeld's depreciatory views and practice concerning the Supper have their close parallel, as might be expected, in his teach-

* For Schwenckfeld's peculiar idea of creaturehood, see below.

† C 486d, 487.

‡ C 507c.

§ A 868d.

|| A 768b.

¶ A 866c.

** A 424c; cf. C 86b, 482c, 486d, 507c, 532b, 997b, 1005b.

†† C 259d.

‡‡ For his self-justification in this so-called *Stillstand*, see such passages as A 736 sq., 761, B 225c, C 274b, 640d, 895a, 983a.

ings concerning baptism. We have already seen that in common with the Swiss radicals he rejected the baptism of children.* But even in the case of adults there may be no necessity, either of means or of precept, for this sacrament. It all depends, as we shall find, upon the far-reaching distinction between the "inner" and the "outer" transaction, between the "baptism by the Spirit" and the "baptism by water." Whether Schwenckfeld's view of this rite is a "high" or a "low" one will depend, manifestly, upon which of the two aspects of the sacrament he has in mind.† For the present it may suffice to say that the above statements about the utter uselessness of external means of grace, in the ordinary sense of the term, apply as much to the one sacrament as to the other.

Again, Schwenckfeld's theory of the Church is likewise influenced by this fundamental dualism between the inner realities of religion and their external signs. It cannot be denied that he lacked all interest in ecclesiastical organizations. The fact that he was the real founder of conventicles among the dissenters of the German Reformation is no refutation of this assertion. His followers have, moreover, maintained their independent existence to this day. But these facts cannot be traced to any teaching of his as to the need or utility of a corporate church life. On the contrary, as Gerbert remarks: "Schwenckfeld lacked every tendency toward ecclesiasticism; in fact, he entered into a decided opposition to the Protestantism that was shaping itself into Churches."‡ His spiritualism shared in this respect the defects of all genuine mysticism: the benefits of communal life for the individual are not duly appreciated. With no talent for administration and no desire for the separate organization of his adherents, he was content, for the sake of the peace of Christendom, to work quietly on a small scale, and to trust to the power of his teachings for the defeat of his better marshaled foes. With his opposition to all external ecclesiasticism,

* C 288-293 gives thirty reasons against pedobaptism. But this issue was not a burning one for him. He declares: "Mir ist auch für meine Person gar Nichts am Kindertauf gelegen; man taufe oder taufe nicht, so lass ich's dabei bleiben, wollte lieber dass dieser Artikel noch zur Zeit geschwiegen würde" (C 286d).

† It may here by way of anticipation be admitted, therefore, that Schwenckfeld in his use of the term "sacrament" often employs an undistributed middle. He professes to adopt Augustin's definition (*In Joann.*, 80 : 3)—"*accedit verbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum etiam ipsum tanquam verbum visibile*"—but ere long either the *elementum* or the *verbum* is spiritualized: the former becomes the Holy Ghost or the latter the Eternal Word.

‡ *L.c.*, p. 135; cf. p. 170.

he was only partially successful in realizing the importance of the Church as a factor in the salvation of the world.*

But we must go even farther. The Scriptures themselves seem to be endangered. The Pauline antithesis between the letter and the spirit is applied in a manner which at least gives color to the charge that Schwenckfeld rejected the normative authority of the Bible. Certainly, if only his most radical assertions were considered, there would be little to differentiate him from the most fanatical of the extremists. There is no end to the criticism of the *Buchstäbler* who, in mastering only the letter of Scripture, fail to discern its real, spiritual content. *Schriftgelehrte* and *Gottesgelehrte* are generally separated by precisely the whole diameter in a given sphere of speculation. In endless variety through all his numerous works runs this polemic against the alleged deification of the letter of Scripture by all four of the great Church parties. The external word is not the real Word. The preached Gospel is not the true Evangel, the genuine Mysterium. The Scriptures are not to be identified out of hand with the Word of God.†

It is plain that we have here fallen upon a fundamental line of thought whose ramifications we may expect to encounter at every step of our progress. We have in fact begun to lay bare the very heart of Schwenckfeld's gospel. As in many another theological system, so also in his, the Word and sacraments are indissolubly linked together. To ascertain the true nature of his theory of the sacraments, therefore, we are bound to examine his views concerning the Word of God. But the identification of the Word with the Son at once raises the larger question, What did he think of Christ?

Schwenckfeld reveals himself as a genuine disciple of the Reformation by his clear grasp of the central importance in Christianity of the Redeemer's person and work.‡ As some of the passages

* Meanwhile, however, his admitted partial success may serve to remind us that his subjectivism was not of that extreme kind that cut itself loose absolutely from the historic past. Here too, in other words, we may expect to find a more satisfactory aspect of his doctrine of the Church than that commonly ascribed to him and necessitated, it would seem, by some of his own statements.

† The passages on these points are literally innumerable. They disprove the thesis of Loofs (*Dogmengeschichte*³, p. 373) about the "damals nirgends angefochtene Gleichsetzung von hl. Schrift und Wort Gottes." Cf. Harnack, *Dogmeng.*, III³, p. 791.

‡ There was, to be sure, a latent tendency to make more of the "person" than of the "work," that is, to permit the objective atonement of the historic Jesus unduly to recede from view behind the incarnation considered as the great redemptive fact. This was, moreover, a logical necessity in his system. At the same time it must be said that the tendency was in part overcome by the reformer's conscientious study of the Biblical basis of justification by faith. It is an inac-

already cited will have made clear, Christ is regarded as the only possible mediator between man and God.* No saints can share this relationship with him.† In the Biblical phrase "through Christ" the very preposition promotes his jealous regard for the honor of the Son as an absolutely divine Saviour.‡ No theologian, in fact, has ever more strongly recognized both the supernatural and the Christocentric character of Christianity.§ Hence the numberless reminders that to know Christ aright is life's chief duty.|| The whole Gospel is conceived as a fourfold revelation of the promises and prophecies concerning Christ, of their actual fulfillment, of his glorification, and of our participation in him.¶ Firmly and squarely, therefore, Schwenckfeld took his stand upon the ultimate and comprehensive basis of the Reformation, the principle that salvation flows not from man but from God through Christ. What then constitutes the essential difference between him and his diverse antagonists? The answer is found in his characteristic doctrine of the spiritualistic mediatorship of Christ, which affected the whole range of his thought and fixed a gulf between him and his opponents on all questions pertaining to the Scriptures, the Church and the Sacraments. We therefore proceed, in the light of this central fact, to take a second survey of these related subjects, reproducing as faithfully as possible the polemic bearings of his system.

First in the order of thought, as also in the order of importance, is the antinomy between the Scriptures and the Word of God. And on this, as on most of the other issues, the chief opposition was directed against the party from whom he had learned most, the Lutherans.

Luther had rediscovered the Christian religion by rediscovering the central truth of the Gospel, the revelation of God's grace in

curate representation of the case, therefore, when Hodge declares (*Systematic Theology*, I, p. 83): "He said that we are justified not by what Christ has done for us, but by what He has done within us." How much is made of the Saviour's mission in his estate of humiliation will be shown later. Meanwhile it is to be conceded that the essence of Schwenckfeld's Christianity is to be found in his altogether unique doctrine of the deification of Christ's flesh. What this principle logically implied is one thing; what modification he gave it in practice is quite another.

* See also A 47ab, 547b, 583 sqq., 767.

† D 102, 290.

‡ D 292, cf. 339b.

§ See e.g., A 327 sq., 725c, D 287, 595, 647, 655, 698.

|| A 239, 631, 644 sq., 664, 907 sqq. See the treatise (D 77-91), *Ermahnung zur wahren und seligmachenden Erkenntnis Christi*.

¶ A 860-865.

Jesus Christ. Deeply influenced by the German mystics—they were, of course, the legitimate representatives of vital piety in those days, in opposition to that official system of scholastic theology, mediæval asceticism and sensuous ecclesiasticism that had all but converted religion into a flat moralism—he none the less was saved from all ecstatic excesses by the safeguards of a profoundly ethical spirit that never failed to ground the assurance of its pardon, the joy of its salvation, upon the objectively revealed truth of God, and therefore upon the historic work of Christ. His pearl of greatest price was his faith, the assurance, based upon the Scriptures, that he by the merit of Christ was standing in the favor of God. But in the light of his personal experience, and especially under pressure from the Romanists, his enemies on the right wing, Luther was now led to criticise and indeed to subvert the traditional theory of the magical *ex opere operato* efficacy of the sacraments. In fact the very existence of these rites, regarded in any proper sense of the term as means of grace, was endangered. Reduced in number from seven to two (or three),* they furthermore became mere external signs of the one true sacrament, the Word.† Gauged by his principle, “faith constitutes the power of the sacrament,” their value is seen to be reduced practically to nothing.‡

But Luther in those first days of heroic defense and aggression went much farther. It is well known with what boldness and scorn of logical consequences he could apply the criterion of his own religious experience to the books of the New Testament, namely, whether or not they made Christ their chief concern.§ He did not hesitate, therefore, to lay threatening hands upon the letter of Scripture, whenever it seemed impossible to bring the text into harmony with the facts of his own religious life. The very term “Word of God” had not from the first that fixed content and

* See the treatise, *De Captivitate Babylonica*, which is not only epoch-making in the history of the sacraments in general, but also fundamental to Luther's development of the doctrine of the Supper in particular.

† Cf. Thimme, *Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Sakramentslehre Luthers*, in the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, 1901, p. 754. On the general subject of Luther's doctrine of the sacraments consult also Kahnis, *Die Lehre vom Abendmahl*, Göbel, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1843, 2. H., pp. 333 *sqq.*, and the histories of doctrine, especially Seeberg.

‡ Cf. his *Unterricht an die Beichtkinder* (anno 1521): “Das göttliche Wort, in der Bulle verdammt, ist mehr denn alle Dinge, welches die Seele nicht mag entbehren, mag aber wohl des Sacraments entbehren; so wird dich der rechte Bischof Christus selber speisen, geistlich, mit demselben Sacrament. Lass dir nicht seltsam sein, ob du dasselbe Jahr nicht zum Sacrament gehest” (St. Louis Ed., Vol. XIX, col. 812).

§ Literally “drive Christ” (“Christum treiben”); Preface to the *Ep. of James*.

value which it later acquired. He had freely employed the Augustinian distinction between the "inner" and the "outer" Word.* It is idle to speculate as to what he might have done with this formula had it not, in the hands of the fanatics, imperiled his whole achievement. The fact remains, however, that not only in his critical remarks on the New Testament books, but in many an occasional utterance as well, he countenanced the separation, so dear to the mystic's heart, between the Scriptures and the Word of God, between the "outer" and the "inner" Word.†

It was with such aspects of Luther's original teachings that Schwenckfeld was in perfect accord.‡ In this sense he interpreted the immediate past. "Thus our *doctores* in the beginning taught the true view of the Word of God and his divine ordinance, and built upon the one solid foundation, namely, upon the eternal living Word Christ which is with the Father. They accordingly taught that faith and eternal salvation are not bound to any external word or work nor given through any external means, but, as God's work, gift, and pure grace, they come without means from God and the Holy Spirit through Jesus Christ, who as the head flows into them as the members of his body."§ And for this very reason Schwenckfeld frequently expresses his disapproval of the reactionary tendency that took hold of Luther about the year 1522. "Thereafter, however, when they began to quarrel so much and give their carnal desires so much scope in the things of God; after the controversy on the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ had arisen, . . . they inverted the true order in the work of God, in the spread of his Word, and in man's justification, and in this and many other respects they held and taught views contrary to their former doctrine and books, so palpably indeed that one could fairly lay hands on the discrepancy."||

That Luther's view of the Word and sacraments did in fact

* It ought at once to be added, however, that Luther soon succeeded in establishing a definite and fixed relation between the two: the former is, to all intents and purposes, bound to the latter.

† Cf. Schenkel, *Das Wesen des Protestantismus*, I, 130; Harnack, *Dogmeng.*, III³, 771 sq.; Loofs, *Dogmeng.*, p. 373.

‡ It would be instructive to carry out in detail the resemblances—often enough, of course, they are merely verbal and superficial—between Schwenckfeld and Luther before the outbreak of the Wittenberg disturbances. Cf. Hase (*Kirchengeschichte*, III, 1, p. 300): "Er hielt eine Richtung fest, das innere Geisteschristenthum, die früher auch in Luther eine Macht war."

§ C 339cd.

|| *L.c.*, p. 340c.

suffer a retrogressive transformation cannot be denied.* We cannot go into the details of this reaction. Only a few of the more striking passages may be cited in order that we may the better understand Schwenckfeld's polemic.† "God deals with us in two ways: externally through the oral word and through bodily signs (baptism and the eucharist). Inwardly he deals with us through the Holy Spirit and faith together with other gifts; but always in due order and measure, so that the external things shall and must precede, and the internal things come after and through the external ones; in such wise, that he has determined to give the internal things to no one save through the external things; for he will give no one the Spirit or faith without the external word and sign which he has appointed for that purpose."‡ Very characteristic is his assertion: "God lets the Word of the Gospel go forth and the seed fall into the hearts of men. Where the seed is lodged in the heart, there is the Holy Spirit to regenerate; there is produced another man, other thoughts, other words and works."§ How much importance is at times attached to the *verbum vocale* may be seen in the following statement: "The fingers which baptized me are not the fingers of a man but of the Holy Spirit, and the mouth and word of the preacher which I heard are not his but the word and sermon of the Holy Spirit."||

* Thimme, *l.c.*, p. 876, is inclined to think that the differences between the earlier and the later Luther on the subject of the sacraments have been unduly emphasized as against the confessedly common and permanent elements. After all, it is a question of having an adequate standard of measurement. To a man of Schwenckfeld's type the differences, even as Thimme represents them, would necessarily appear to constitute a lamentable relapse toward Rome. That Reformed theologians will in this matter agree with Harnack's severe criticism of Luther goes without saying. Harnack, *Dogmeng.*, III³, 792 *sqq.*

† Otto, *Die Anschauungen vom heiligen Geiste bei Luther* (Göttingen, 1898), has an excellent section on the relation of the Word and Spirit in Luther.

‡ *Luthers Werke*, St. Louis Ed., XX, col. 202. The Augsburg Confession gave classical expression to this view (Schaff, *Creeds*, III, p. 10): "Nam per Verbum et Sacramenta, tanquam per instrumenta, donatur Spiritus Sanctus, qui fidem efficit, ubi et quando visum est Deo, in iis, qui audiunt Evangelium." Luther himself in the *Schmalcald Articles* maintained (Hase, *Libri Symbolici*, P. Secunda, Artt. Smalc., VIII, 3): "Et in his, quæ vocale et externum verbum concernunt, constanter tenendum est, Deum nemini Spiritum vel gratiam suam largiri, n' si per verbum et cum verbo externo et præcedente, ut ita præmuniamus nos adversus Enthusiastas, id est, spiritus, qui jactitant, se ante verbum et sine verbo spiritum habere, et adeo Scripturam sive vocale verbum judicant, flectunt et reflectunt pro libito." He went so far as to say (*ibid.*, VIII, 9): "Et nullus Propheta, sive Elias sive Elisæus, Spiritum sine decalogo sive verbo vocali accepit."

§ St. Louis Ed., IX, col. 1163.

|| This and many other equally remarkable passages may be found in Otto, *l.c.*

But it is needless to multiply the evidences: in the genuinely Lutheran conception the Spirit is bound to the Word and the sacraments, and these contain in themselves the supernatural grace which produces saving effects in the believing heart.* More and more the visible sign had been magnified until, in alleged conformity with the commandment of God, the external sacrament is identified as a *verbum visibile* with the Word, and this in turn is made the real manifestation of God's grace.

Against this conception of Christianity, in which he rightly divined a retrogression toward Rome, Schwenckfeld opposed first of all a generically different theory of the Word. The distinction between the "inner" and the "outer" Word assumes a basal importance. The following passage contains the heart of the matter: "The Word, therefore, when the servants of the Spirit preach or teach, is of two kinds, but with a marked difference in the transactions: one which is of God and itself God, which also richly lives and works in the servant's heart; that is the inner Word, and is in reality nothing other than Christ in the Holy Spirit. It is inwardly revealed and heard by the new man with the believing ears of the heart. The other, which serves this inner Word with voice, sound and expression, is called the oral or external Word, and this is heard with carnal ears, even those of the natural man, and is written and read in letters. But he who has read or heard only that and not also the inner Word has not heard the Gospel of Christ, the Gospel of grace, nor has he received or understood it."† Corresponding, then, to the inner and the outer Word are two kinds of hearing, two kinds of faith, two kinds of knowledge of Christ, two kinds of Biblical exegesis: that of the letter and that of the Spirit. The prime requisite is a spiritual apprehension of the Gospel, *i.e.*, of Christ the Word.

But of what account, then, are the Scriptures? That they are in no case to be regarded as "means of grace," in the ordinary sense of the term, we have already seen. But Schwenckfeld's repugnance to the term *Gnadenmittel* must not mislead us into supposing that he took the position of the extreme radicals on this question.

* The adjective "believing" is of course all-important in the Lutheran statement. Schwenckfeld indulged in much unwarranted criticism of his opponents because of his misapprehension of the nature of their "faith."

† A 767ab; see the whole letter, pp. 764-780. Cf. D 241, 330, 361, 563, 630bc, SS7a, and the tract *Vom Unterschiede des Worts des Geistes und Buchstabens*. This dualism concerning the Word colors the whole work of Schwenckfeld. It is based, as we shall find, upon a philosophic dualism between God and the creature world.

We must do justice, in turn, to what we may regard as the higher elements of his view.

The Bible, it is clearly recognized, comes from God.* It is inspired by the Holy Spirit.† In numberless passages Schwenckfeld seeks to clear himself from the charge that he is a despiser of the sacred oracles. He repudiates the calumny of his enemy Flacius Illyricus, who charged him with teaching that "faith is not according to the Holy Scripture, but the Holy Scripture must be directly conformed to faith."‡ The Scriptures should be faithfully read and diligently preached.§ Catechetical instruction in them ought to be revived.|| Picture books dealing with Biblical events ought to be printed for the special benefit of children.¶

But still weightier considerations must be brought forward. Schwenckfeld unequivocally asserts the normative and binding authority of the Scriptures. To be sure the contrary, as has been noted, seems at times to be the case. None the less the Bible was his last court of appeal. On all the controverted points of the age he went directly to the Scriptures.** With him as with his opponents the final question was simply the exegetical one.†† He never presumes to place his Christian consciousness in a position of higher authority than that of the written Word.‡‡ He ex-

* A 441, D 545a.

† D 868b.

‡ C 464b; cf. D 545, 868.

§ C 486: "Und am ersten dass Philippi [Melancthons] Beschuldigung nicht wahr ist, dass ich das Hören, Lesen, Betrachten des geschriebenen oder mündlichen Evangelii verwerfe oder sage, dass Gott nicht dabei (wenn's im Glauben geschieht) mit Gnaden wirke." The following is decisive on the question of preaching the Word (B 162c): "Der Predigt halben wünscht er, dass nicht allein in den Kirchen, sondern auch in Häusern, auf den Märkten und Dächern zu Wasser und Land, der Name Jesu Christi recht bekannt werde, ja dass in der ganzen Welt das Evangelium Jesu Christi und der Reichtum seiner Gnaden verkündigt, ausgebreitet, und gepredigt werde."

|| B 368d, 373d.

¶ B 380; see also the whole tract, *Ein kurzer Bericht von der Weise des Catechismi*, by Val. Krautwald.

** Cf. A 28d: "Also muss man auch bald wenn einem ein streitiger Punkt wird vorgeworfen, zur Bibel laufen, das Vorderste und das Hinderste (und nicht allein den blossen Spruch) dabei wohl besichtigen, bedenken, und ansehen, so wird man es oft viel anders finden als es sich mancher lässt einbilden." Cf. C 77d.

†† His works abound in expositions of Biblical passages. His exegesis is, to be sure, influenced by the allegorical tendencies of the time, but it fairly attains the average level of sobriety and moderation. And however difficult it may be for us to harmonize some of his extreme utterances as to the inner and outer Word, the fact must never be lost sight of that after all he gets his "theology" from the same book as his opponents.

‡‡ It is manifestly a perversion when Kurtz (*Kirchengeschichte*, 9. Aufl., II, p. 150) declares "he elevated over the external Word of God in the Scriptures the inner Word of the Spirit of God in man."

pressly denies that he wished to have Scripture conformed to his faith, rather than have his faith conformed to the Scriptures. To be sure he often speaks slightly of the humanistic culture of his day. But the secret of his attitude toward the Bible is to be found in his conviction that the book was being radically misunderstood by his opponents because of their lack of true faith. *Philosophia, Frau Hulda, Vernunft, Dialectica, Rhetorica, and Grammatica* were wresting the Scriptures to the Church's destruction.* The prime requisite, therefore, is to be taught of God.† To this end the Spirit must illuminate and sanctify the reader's mind. For the oral Word is not enough.‡ Preaching may reach the ear without touching the heart.§ The external Word is not a mediator of salvation,|| but when rightly, *i.e.*, spiritually understood, it is a source of the real knowledge of Christ, which is the one thing needful. One passage may serve to give the contents of many: 'Accordingly the Gospel of Christ is also spoken of, preached, written, and understood in such a double manner (although before God there is only one Gospel, just as there is only one Christ), namely, according to the letter and according to the Spirit. At one time the Scripture speaks of the Gospel according to the external service; at another, according to the inner mystery and divine essence; or according to history and according to the power of God. The Gospel according to history, or according to the [external] service, and outside of us, is the discourse or outward sermon concerning Christ, given or heard by the servant or preacher, without the coöperation of the Holy Spirit, only in the letter, and grasped by human reason and with practice and diligence fastened in the memory, without any renewing or fructifying of the heart. This is not as yet the true Gospel, indeed scarcely a picture, copy, shadow, or evidence of the true living Gospel of

* Of the many passages dealing with his distrust of reason, see *e.g.*, A 234cd, 257, 438, 515, 828, B 294, 446, C 117, 252, 728, C 1016, D 159, 874.

† See the treatise, *Vom Unterschied der Schriftgelehrten und Gottesgelehrten; was auch Schriftgelehrte und Gottesgelehrte heissen*. Schenkel, *Das Wesen*, etc., III, 98, not inaptly declares: "Gelehrte und Verkehrte sind ihm sinnverwandt."

‡ B 349c, C 235b, 535c.

§ C 487 *sq.* shows how Luther himself had admitted this, but later with his adherents had relapsed from this position.

|| A 765. This however does not mean, as Dr. Hodge (*Syst. Theology*, I, 82) interprets Schwenckfeld's view of the Bible, that "the Scriptures are not, even instrumentally, the source of the divine life." Logically indeed Schwenckfeld was bound to come to this conclusion. But it was characteristic of him to shrink from the extremes to which the strict logic of his system would have driven him. The ordinary doctrinal phrases can never with justice be applied to him. His thought is cast in a different mould.

Christ, no matter how skillful, learned, and eloquent the preacher may be. Therefore the Gospel of Christ, to speak strictly, is nothing other than the joyful, comforting good news of redemption and eternal salvation, which the angel of the great council, Jesus Christ, brings through the Holy Spirit to an afflicted heart, which he first punishes for sin, and calls to repentance, and to which he then proclaims the divine peace purchased by his blood," etc.*

But of course the decisive question is not whether the "external Word" needs the accompaniment of the "inner Word" or not, but rather whether or not the latter may dispense with the former. Schwenckfeld's opponents, it is plain from his defensive attitude, accused him of rejecting the Scriptures. But it is equally clear that his assertion of the need of a spiritual understanding of the Word neither exhausts the *à priori* possibilities of the case nor constitutes a complete statement of the actual facts. The specific question must be answered, Is there any spiritual knowledge possible apart from the written Word?

The resemblance in this particular between Schwenckfeld and the Quakers is too obvious not to have been a subject for frequent comment. Barelay,† indeed, maintains that the teaching of Schwenckfeld and Fox was identical on three important points: first as to the "Inward Light, Life and Word"; secondly as to "Immediate Revelation"; and lastly as to the inability of any external bodily act to convey a spiritual reality to the soul. But neither is there any historical connection traceable between Schwenckfeld and the Friends, nor can there be said to be anything more than a general correspondence and similarity between their ideas; both represent more or less extreme reactions against ecclesiasticism, sacerdotalism, and sacramentarianism. As against the orthodox Quakers, Schwenckfeld taught a peculiar Christology which gives his whole system a different complexion; and as against the heterodox Quakers he held a far more moderate position concerning the nature, purpose and extent of the Inner Light. Now and then, indeed, he uses the language of the most radical spiritualists. Especially does this seem to be the case when statements are divorced from their contexts. The following is a characteristic negation: "It is here evident, therefore, that the true saving knowledge of God the Father and His Son Jesus Christ comes from no other source than a gracious divine revelation. . . . That is, that the Son of God, Christ, can be rightly

* D 331b. Cf. A 687-689.

† *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, p. 237 sqq.

known neither through human reason, nor through Scripture, nor out of any external thing.”* It is well known, moreover, how strenuously he insisted that his unique interpretation of the words “this is my body” was due to special revelation.† This was one of the specific charges brought against him by Capito and Blaurer during his sojourn in southern Germany.‡ But what after all is his doctrine of “revelation”? The context of the passage last quoted is too important to leave unnoticed: “That is, that the Son of God, Christ, can be rightly known neither through human reason, nor through Scripture, nor out of any external thing, although the Holy Scriptures and the created things bear witness to him.”§ In fact the “light” so highly prized is naught but what the Apostle Paul prays may be given his Ephesian readers, “the spirit of wisdom and revelation” in the knowledge of Christ.|| “That is what the Lord Christ means by hearing and learning the Word of the Father and coming to Christ, and as he says, ‘they shall all be taught of God.’ This some incorrectly refer to the Scriptures; they dislike also the word revelation, regarding it indeed as a dream, a fancy, a fanatical excess, although in very truth it is the living doctrine of God from His Spirit in the believing heart.”¶ The revelation of spiritual truth, therefore, comes not from the natural man’s interpretation of the Scriptures but only from the real Word Christ himself, through his Spirit operating now with and now without the letter of the Scriptures or any external thing. Thus was left open, to be sure, a way of retreating, if need were, to the extremes of mere subjectivism. But the practical issues of the day made him retain a strong hold upon the sacred text: the spiritual as distinguished from the literal interpretation of the Scriptures is the heart and core of his doctrine concerning “revelations” to the individual Christian. He was opposed to Luther’s idea that the Spirit never operates savingly except through the Word, and that the *verbum* itself is *illustrans*, i.e., that the Scriptures contain within themselves a supernatural and divine power, so that their efficacy is independent of the special accompaniment of the Spirit.** But that he did not quite reproduce the

* A 427d.

† More generally the term used is “Offenbarung”; but occasionally we find “gnädige Heimsuchung.”

‡ See Heyd’s article, “Blaurer, Schnepf, Schwenckfeld,” in the *Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie*, 1838, H. 4, pp. 29, 35.

§ A 427d.

|| A 428a.

¶ A 428a.

** Hering, *Die Mystik Luthers*, p. 45, correctly expresses Luther’s view as follows: “Das Grundthema seiner Schriftauslegung: das Wort ist Geist, ist von dem Zusatz begleitet zu denken, dass Geist im Wort ist.”

views of the great body of Christians of all ages, but allowed himself to reveal a bias, logically indeed not without warrant in the position of his chief opponents, yet practically objectionable against the letter of Scripture, is due not only to the polemic interest that dominated his work but also and primarily to the necessities of his system of thought. Wherever the practical problems of his situation claim his chief attention, however, the decisive authority of the Bible is freely conceded. "Thus do we conclude our admonition concerning the true and spiritual knowledge of Christ, which also is the sole criterion (*basis et norma*) by which to know and judge all manner of doctrines, opinions, errors and sects. Nor do we know any better or more convenient way for the promotion, reformation or improvement of the Christian religion and doctrine than the true knowledge of Christ, which must be secured, not only out of Scripture but rather out of the gracious gift of the Father's revelation, *yet in such wise that it will always agree or harmonize with the testimony of Scripture.*"* The Spirit therefore works when and where and how he pleases. But the Scriptures are his product, and therefore furnish a faithful criterion for ascertaining and estimating all his revealing activities. When rightly used they simply point to Christ.† They recede in importance behind the manifestations of the subjective religious life produced by the immediate operation of the Spirit upon the heart. But Schwenckfeld, in spite of his strong dislike of the term *Gnadenmittel*, still concedes the serviceableness of the Scriptures in pointing the enlightened reader to the real Word of God, the Son himself. The blessings of the Gospel are communicated by the Spirit operating without means upon the heart: the Scriptures are no mediators of salvation. But none the less, when rightly interpreted, the inspired documents fulfill to all intents and purposes the function of means of grace in any but the strictly Lutheran acceptance of the term. "For although God the Almighty himself teaches his disciples inwardly through Christ in the Holy Spirit the pure divine truth, he has nevertheless appointed for them external teachers and learning also, such as servants of the Word of God, preachers, teachers, expositors of the Holy Scriptures, etc., whom God the Lord calls, sends, and through his Spirit urges to promote his divine doings among his people, whose service he also

* "Doch so dass es alle Wege mit der Schrift Zeugnis stimme oder übereintrage" (D 62b).

† D 868cd (in margin): "Die heilige Schrift weiset von sich und über sich zum Arzt Christo, der allein Gesundheit und Leben giebt." "Die H. Schrift zeugt vom Arzte und der Kraft seiner Arznei, sie ists aber nicht selbst." Cf. C 1010.

blesse, in order that it may serve in the grace of God for the edification of Christians in Christ and their soul's salvation."*

The same unstable equilibrium is to be seen in Schwenckfeld's attitude toward the Church as an institution for the furtherance of the religious life. We have seen how little regard or capacity he had for organization, how his strongly anti-ecclesiastical spirit voiced itself in declarations which, followed to their logical conclusion, would leave no place whatever for the external Church. Against this very charge of abolishing the ministerial office and the public worship of the sanctuary he had frequently to defend himself.† It is plain, however, that the criticism is only to a certain extent justifiable. He himself sets forth his position as follows: "I object to no one's hearing sermons as opportunity offers; nor do I (as the Baptists do) bind the conscience in this matter as if it were sin; nor do I advise the endurance of exile. I therefore in these days of dispersion let every one abide in his freedom."‡ Here, as in the doctrine of the Word, Schwenckfeld distinguished between the internal and the external Church.§ The latter, the true Church of God, is made up of the company of the real believers. Their head is Christ. He rules and builds them up.|| Their salvation is not bound to any external means or institution as an indispensable condition for its bestowal.¶ But on the other hand there are not wanting indications that Schwenckfeld was unwilling to go the whole length of the Anabaptist idealization of the historic Church. Even liturgical ceremonies have a helpful mission, pro-

* D 893d.

† Melancthon, under date of October 18, 1535, wrote as follows to Frecht: "De Schwenckfeldio et Franco, Chronicorum scriptore, placet mihi iudicium tuum. Nam et ego utrumque severe coercendum esse iudico, etsi Schwenckfeldium stultum magis quam improbum esse arbitror; sed tamen hypocrisis apud vulgus nocet et habet hoc [hic], ut ex Ecolampadio audire memini, nullam ecclesiæ formam, hoc est, nulla ministeria probat . . . Ego vero omnes, qui in nostris ecclesiis de ministeriis publicis parum honorifice sentiunt dignos odio esse censeo" (*Corpus Ref.*, ed. Bretschneider, II, col. 955).

‡ C 894c.

§ "Nun ist das Wörtlein Kirche *æquivocum*, das ist, dass man von der Kirche so wohl als vom Glauben oder Gläubigen auf zweierlei Weise pflegt zu reden: einmal nach dem Grunde der Wahrheit wie es vor Gott damit steht, wie die Kirche aus Christo in seinem Reiche wird erbaut und vereinigt, wie er sie regiert und erhält im Reiche der Gnaden . . . Zum andern mal redet man von der Kirche Christi nach ihrer Versammlung im Dienste der Apostel und anderer Diener des heiligen Geistes welche von Christo dem Himmelkönig, seinem Volke zu dienen, und in der Erbauung seines Leibes Handreichung zu thun bestellt werden." B 654bd; cf. D 10-15, *Von der christlichen Kirche*.

|| A 870b, 97a.

¶ It is interesting to note that Schwenckfeld taught that there were undoubtedly Christians even among the Turks of that day. A 782 sq.

vided only that no trust be placed in them.* Preaching is therefore of cardinal importance, even if it is not to be identified with the power of Christ, but only to be regarded as pointing toward Him and thereby serving Him.† Even pictures, if not worshiped, may be used with advantage.‡

It must, of course, be admitted that Schwencckfeld had not a sufficiently clear and consistent view as to the need of ecclesiastical organization. He could, in perfect harmony with his rigoristic and puritanic requirements, have insisted upon a fair degree of organization under leaders of his own choosing. Few, however, will fail to approve his views so far as their criticism of the historical situation is concerned.§ He could not, with his rich spiritual experience, rest content with a Casaro-papal ecclesiasticism which seemed to endanger the whole Protestant cause, which in large measure destroyed the new-born spirit of religious freedom by permitting the use of the sword even in matters of such subordinate importance as the observance of ceremonial rites.|| He left the existing Churches not from choice but from necessity: they did not in any satisfactory measure embody his ideals. But to organize his followers according to his own principles he had neither the wish nor the ability. And thus his theory of the Church reached no advanced stage of development. His views oscillated between an apparently absolute denial of the need and advantage of an external institution and the generous recognition of the mission of the *de*

* A 846c: "Also möchte ich auch von Ceremonien sagen welche äusserlicher Gottesdienst oder Kirchenübungen heissen, deren viel nur wohl und nützlich mögen gebraucht werden. Ich achte es auch nicht dafür, dass irgend ein Christ so vermessen sein kann, dass er alle Ceremonien (ob man wohl kein Vertrauen drein setzen noch die Seligkeit drin soll suchen) ohne Unterschied wolle verwerfen. Sonst würde er das Predigamt, und was in der Kirche äusserlich gehandelt wird, auch müssen verwerfen." Cf. A 700a, 791b.

† C 997bc.

‡ A 846a.

§ See the impartial judgment of Erbkam, *Geschichte der prot. Sekten*, p. 435 sq.

|| B 655d: "Deshalb denn die Definition und Beschreibung der Kirchen, wie sie in der Confession [sc. Augustana] gestellt . . . billig sollte gebessert werden; damit wir Gott den Herrn und seine Werke nicht abermals an uns unnütze Knechte noch an den Papst und Bischof aufs Neue zwingen, heften oder anbinden, sondern den Gang der Gnaden Christi und seines Geistes Lehramt, der die Herzen lehret und geistet wo er will, desgleichen die Erbauung des Leibes Christi überall frei im Geiste und unangebunden stehen lassen. Wie den auch die hl. Christliche Kirche nicht als eine andere Polizei an dies oder jenes Land eingezäunt, weder an Rom, Wittenberg, Zürich, Genf, Mähren, noch anderswo, weder an Zeit, Personen, noch an etwas Äusserliches, ja weder an Prediger, Predigt, oder Sacrament gebunden, sondern mit ihren Gliedern allenthalben durch die ganze Welt, wo gläubige Christen sind, ist ausgebreitet." On the functions of magistrates concerning the Church, see A 79 sqq., 401 sqq., *et passim*. Cf. also Schenkel, *Das Wesen des Prot.*, III, 382-386.

facto organizations, provided only they inculcated a spiritual knowledge of the Head of the Church.*

This survey of Schwenckfeld's doctrine of the Word and the Church will help us to secure a just estimate of his view of the purpose of the sacraments. We are prepared to find his fundamental dualism asserting itself also in this branch of his system. "For to a complete sacrament two things are necessary, an inner and spiritual element and an outer, bodily element."† The sacraments, therefore, are profound mysteries, and not merely external ceremonies.‡ They are more than the mere addition of the outer Word to the given elements.§ The prime requisite here too, therefore, is precisely that which has been so often emphasized, the "judgment of the spiritual man," the correct interpretation of the Scriptures. It is this lack of spiritual insight that is the cause of all error concerning the sacraments.|| For this very reason the eucharist should continually be discussed, upon the Biblical basis, in order that the true view may be obtained.¶ More must be made, in any event, of the spiritual significance of the ordinances.** The failure of his opponents to do this convicts them of being the real despisers of the sacraments.†† On the other hand, he strongly protests against the justice of this charge so frequently made against him.‡‡ It is not with the sacraments, but with the misuse of them, that he finds fault. It was his conviction that the Church was misinterpreting these sacred rites that led him to advocate the *Stillstand* in the case of the Supper, and the corresponding custom of substituting for sacramental baptism only a consecratory

* See the (LVI) *Fragen von der christlichen Kirche*, which are really so many attacks upon the worldly ecclesiasticism of the day, and so many defenses of his own position between the Romanist and Anabaptist extremes.

† B, Part I, p. 140d.

‡ A, p. XIId. Cf. B, Part I, p. 85cd: "Denn wenn man von Sacramenten Christi und seiner christlichen Kirche redet, so redet man vornehmlich von einem Geheimnis und göttlich offenbarten Handel, darin die christgläubige Seele ist und wird gereinigt, erleuchtet, wiedergeboren und von Sünden abgewaschen, durch das Bad des Wassers im Worte, als im Sacrament der Taufe; oder darinnen sie wird gespeiset, getränkt, und gesättigt mit dem Leib und Blut J. Christi, dadurch sie wird im göttlichen Leben erhalten und darinnen immer ferner aufwachsen, als im Sacrament des Nachtmals."

§ Cf. A 505a, 855c.

|| B, Part I, 101b.

¶ A 342d, 393a-e.

** A 492c.

†† A, pp. Xd, XIa.

‡‡ D 15d: "Von den heiligen Sacramenten . . . glaube ich alles was die heilige Schrift sagt und wie sie vom Herrn Christo gelehrt und für die christgläubigen eingesetzt, auch von lieben Aposteln und der christlichen Kirche nach dem Befehl des Herrn sind gebraucht worden und noch in der versammelten Gemeinde Gottes also gebraucht und verstanden sollen werden." Cf. D 21 sq., 544, 973, C 283b, 687d, 730d, B 104c, A 331, 394, etc.

prayer. He takes his stand once more upon the sole mediatorship of Christ.*

The general principles just mentioned we find exemplified in the statements concerning baptism. The outer rite must be carefully distinguished from the inner reality. "But we must remember that in the complete sacrament of the baptism of Christ two things are present, namely, an external and an internal one; the elemental water and the water of divine grace which purifies the conscience."† The external water cannot cleanse. "Let them know in the first place that the washing away of sins does not belong to the external baptism. Then let them be assured that no external thing, washing or water, can reach or remove sin. In the third place, they do not permit Christ in himself and by himself to be a perfect Saviour. It is therefore a grave wrong to the work of Christ and his Spirit if one ascribes or concedes to the water or other created things in the work of salvation something that belongs to Christ alone."‡

The primary and essential element in baptism, therefore, is the inner grace, the bestowal of which is absolutely independent of the

* C 448d: "Das ihr begehret zu wissen, wie ihr es richten sollt, dass Nichts äusserliches das Herz erreiche, das sollt ihr richten auf den Handel unserer Gerecht- und Seligwerdung, nämlich das Herz zu bekehren, zu reinigen und erneuern, denn wer vermag solches denn allein Gott und Christus im heiligen Geiste? Das fleischliche Herz wird wohl oft durch äusserliche Dinge bewegt zu Freuden und Traurigkeit; es wird aber drum durch äusserliche Dinge nicht selig noch umgekehrt. Christus ist der Erneuerer des Herzen; er allein vermag die Sünde draus zu nehmen und seine Gnade darein zu geben." Cf. A 597 sqq., 780, C 480c, 619, D 440, 468ab, 738. For extended discussions of what he regarded as an unwarranted emphasis upon the "external" sacraments, see C 1015-1021, and especially the first two letters in Part I of B (pp. 10-146), *Vom Grund und Ursach des Irrtums und Spans im Artikel vom Sacrament des Herrn Nachtmals* and *Vom Verstande, Gebrauch, und Würdigkeit der Sacramente Christi*. The *Bekenntnis und Rechenschaft von den Hauptpuncten des christlichen Glaubens* (D pp. 1-62) is a précis of his whole system.

† A 195bc.

‡ A 32cd. Cf. A 378cd, 497cd, C 397, 438b, 520a, and many other passages in all of the folios. To be sure Luther had taken pains to bring the word of commandment (Matt. xxviii. 19) into connection with the water of baptism: "Wasser thut's freilich nicht, sondern das Wort Gottes so mit und bei dem Wasser ist und der Glaube so solchem Worte Gottes im Wasser trauet; denn ohne Wort Gottes ist das Wasser schlecht Wasser und keine Taufe" (*Der kleine Catechismus*, Part IV, in Schaff's *Creeds*, III, p. 86). None the less, especially in the matter of infant baptism, Luther reopened the way for the magical efficiency of the *ex opere operato* theory of the sacrament. The consecrated water itself, in fact, possessed a divine potency. It was heavenly, holy, *durchgöttet*. Cf. Schenkel, *l.c.*, I, 448 sq.; Thimme, *l.c.*, 898; Hering, *l.c.*, p. 287 sq., and Harnack, *Dogmeng III* 3, 792.

external rite.* The blood of Christ is the only sprinkling that removes the defilements of sin,† or rather—the reason for this characteristic emphasis upon the unity and totality of Christ's person will appear later—Christ himself is the bath of regeneration.‡

Precisely so does the right understanding of the eucharist necessitate a sharp distinction between the outer signs and the inner realities, between the external and the internal sacrament. The parallelism in this respect between the Supper and Baptism is complete. "As I have hitherto spoken of two kinds of water in the Christian sacrament of baptism, so I find in the complete sacramental transaction of the Lord's Supper two different kinds of bread, or food, and drink: namely, a spiritual, divine, heavenly bread, food, and drink, which is the body of Christ given for us and his sacred blood shed for the forgiveness of sins; and a bodily and sacramental bread and drink, which the Lord Jesus before his departure commanded his disciples to break, to eat, and to drink, in remembrance of Him."§ The former is then identified, as will have been anticipated, with Christ the Son; it is the bread which is the Lord. The latter is only the "bread of the Lord." Once more, therefore, the whole question turns upon the correct, that is the "spiritual," understanding of the Scriptures. Once more Schwenckfeld can refute the charge that he makes light of the New Testament sacraments. "In the same way I request, wish, and desire that the holy sacrament of the body and blood of Christ be observed by the believing Christians according to the institution, intention, and will of the Lord, with a right understanding, knowledge, and faith, also with a due examination and with the due accompaniments, in a Christian, devout, and reverent manner, and that it be not misused to condemnation through ignorance and superstition. Whether this means rejecting the service of the Word of God and despising the holy sacrament . . . because I distinguish between these things and the Word which is spirit and

* Cf. Schwenckfeld's remarks about the possibility and the need of an oft-repeated "spiritual feet washing." "Die Füße der Christgläubigen werden inmer gewaschen mit dem reinen Wasser, das ohne Unterlass von dem Leibe Christi fließt" (A 209d). Again (C 207a), "Warum treiben sie"—he is speaking of the Lutherans—"nicht auch so fest aufs Füßwaschen? welches der Herr eben so wohl als das Werk ihm nachzuthun hat befohlen: 'So ich euer Meister und Herr euch die Füße gewaschen,' " etc. That is, if the Lutherans take this ceremony spiritually, why should not the sacraments also be so understood?

† A 13d, D 147, 285b.

‡ A 31ed; cf. B, Part I, 121d.

§ D 18ab.

life, I will now submit to the Christian Church, your grace, and all pious Christians.”*

But of course the really decisive question as to Schwenckfeld's conception of the purpose of the sacraments is still to be raised. His theoretical distinction, amounting in practice, as we have seen, to a virtual separation between the outer transaction and the inner reality in the Supper, satisfied neither the Romanists and Lutherans on the one hand nor the Zwinglians and Anabaptists on the other. Indeed, much of the persecuted man's literary activity was due to his desire to remove the misapprehensions concerning his views under which he was sure his opponents were laboring. But in spite of his efforts in this direction, it is still to be regretted that the inner nexus of his sacramentarianism has not been more clearly set forth. For this obviously is the crux of the whole problem: are these outer and inner circles of reality truly concentric, or do they lie in such remote planes that all possibility of a causal connection between them is cut off? Does this fundamental dualism result in an absolutely unmediated juxtaposition of altogether disparate elements? Is there at the most only a possible simultaneity between the external and the internal transactions? What sort of balance must be struck between Schwenckfeld's assertion that the sacraments are serviceable, yet are not means of grace? Is he thoroughly consistent with himself in denying the propriety of the term *Gnadenmittel* in any and every sense?

How much injustice in this regard has sometimes been done to the reformer will appear from our answer to these questions. It is difficult to present his views with perfect accuracy and fairness in any other than his own words. What he was bound by rigid self-consistency to say is one thing; what he actually said in conformity with his philosophic and theological presuppositions, on the one hand, and under the influence of the conditions of his situation, on the other, is quite another thing.

The external rites—on at least this point there can be no doubt—are signs and symbols of the inner reality, of the truth, the essence, the *res* or *materia* of the sacraments. This fact, it may be assumed, has become plain in the course of the discussion. There are those indeed who regard this statement as the only proper because the perfectly exhaustive one.† There can be no doubt that it is the

* D 545a.

† For example, Hahn, *Schwenckfeldii Sententia*, etc., p. 60, n. 1: “Itaque sacramentis externis Schwenckfeldius putavit non nisi adumbrari res divinas, quas Christus omnibus fidem habentibus quovis tempore distribuit.”

mould into which Schwenckfeld most frequently cast his reflections on the teleology of the sacraments. With what sharpness of vision he grasped this aspect of the problem will appear from a citation of several of the most important deliverances. "All external things are only representations which portray or point and lead to the eternal divine truth which is dispensed through the custodian of the holy blessings, through Jesus Christ in the Holy Spirit. God is therefore not concerned about external things, but about that which is represented to the believer by means of the external thing and which is distributed through Christ in the Holy Spirit."* Again, "the sacraments are indeed spiritual or, if the term be rightly understood, holy, sacramental signs, because they point to holy, spiritual things and signify them. But they cannot impart them, since they have no spiritual, divine power in themselves."† One of the clearest statements on this phase of the subject is the following: "All external things, the sacrament and other things, were instituted by Christ for our sakes, in order that his great benefits and his work in the believing heart may be known and remembered, and that the great riches of the grace of God which he has caused to be manifested to all men in Christ may be known, praised, and magnified in all the world."‡

The external rite, therefore, has at least the function of directing the thought of the participants to Christ, the sole source of saving grace. But is there beyond this any necessary sequence between the outward ceremonial and the bestowal of an inner sacramental blessing?

It is plain that some of the quotations just made leave absolutely no room for an affirmative answer to this question. The unequivocal declarations about the sole mediatorship of Christ must be allowed to retain their force undiminished. That anything in the way of a magical efficiency of the *Gnadenmittel* was to him an unspeakable absurdity; that salvation can, as a matter of fact, be conferred without any means whatsoever by an immediate operation of the Spirit upon the heart; that the blessings conveyed, according to the theories of his opponents, by the sacraments may be daily granted even to those who do not attend to the outward rites; and that the main current of Schwenckfeld's thought tends to sweep away from the sphere of grace every sensuous, external or "creaturely" object,—these propositions may be regarded as established theses. But we must not prejudge the case by sup

* A 201d.

† A 749d; cf. A 789c.

‡ C 580d.

posing that he has reduced his views to a perfectly consistent, unitary system. Granted, for instance, that the Spirit never works through external things: it might still be asked, whether or not he ever works *in* them or *with* them? There can be no doubt that Schwenckfeld, in his strong desire to defend himself against his adversaries by trying to conserve the objective or theological content of the sacraments, did at times approach the Reformed doctrine of the means of grace in the narrowest and strictest sense of the term. The evidence, to be sure, is not abundant. The language used expresses rather the feeling of a conservative disposition than the settled conviction of a severely logical mind. The principle is fairly established, however, that the blessings of salvation are actually bestowed in the right use of the sacraments. "This requires the right understanding and use of the sacraments of Christ, that is the knowledge of Christ according to the Spirit and the dispensation of the mysteries of God in the believing soul, it being the special office of the Holy Spirit to distribute the blessings acquired by Christ unto all believers in the use of his sacraments (*beim Brauche seiner Sacramente*), likewise before and without the use of them."* To be sure, even here the place of emphasis in the sentence is reserved for the thought that the sacraments are by no means necessary. Likewise characteristic is the difference in the prepositions in the phrases "*durch* Christum" and "*beim Brauche seiner Sacramente*." But the manifest coördination of the two methods of bestowing grace, that "with the use of the sacraments" and that "before or without them," shows that in some real sense external things may mediate grace. In another passage we have not only the preposition *bei* but also *in* used. "But if it is said that such grace comes through the external thing, or that the external thing adds something in the form of an instrument, or that the grace cannot be poured in or given without the external thing, or that it must follow the latter, this is all palpable error. For, in short, the grace of God without and in the external thing (*ohne und beim Äusserlichen*) alone effects salvation, *in* both the sacraments and other spiritual transactions."† When, therefore, the sacrament is truly used, it "brings grace along with itself."‡

* B, Part I, 85b.

† B, Part I, 97d.

‡ "Dass aber die Sacramente Christi, wo sie recht verstanden und gebraucht werden, *Gnade mit sich bringen* ist wohl aus dem Exempel abzunehmen, so man bedenkt, wenn ein Christgläubiger in der christlichen Kirche wird getauft und ihm alle Wohlthat Christi wird vorgehalten werden, dass er sich ganz und gar Gotte aufopfert," etc. *Ibid.*; cf. B 15d, where it is said that the consecrated bread "ought to serve the mystery of feeding upon the body and blood of Christ."

These citations, then, must be taken as an authentic commentary on the numerous passages in Schwenckfeld that protest against the *Gnadenmittel*. The common representation, that he taught "a plan of salvation without the means of grace,"* must be understood in the light of the fact that the sacraments when rightly used may and really do convey grace.† Whether or not they may be called "means of grace" will depend, therefore, upon whose definition of the term we employ. Romanists and Lutherans will alike answer in the negative.‡ But in a sense approximating that of the Reformed Church, Schwenckfeld may fairly be said, in spite of his protests, to have "means of grace." His theory of the Supper, as will appear when we discuss the question of the mode of Christ's presence, is distinctively higher than that of Zwingli.§ There is,

* So, e.g., Weiser, in his article on "Casper Schwenckfeld and the Schwenckfeldians," in the *Mercersburg Review*, July, 1870, p. 150.

† The common representation is, of course, essentially correct, inasmuch as it summarizes the content and also the spirit of the great bulk of passages dealing with the subject. But by an occasional inconsistency Schwenckfeld permitted himself to speak, as we have seen, in terms that compromised the rigor of his system with affection for the time-honored institutions of the Church. His pre-suppositions forbade his making the sacraments means of grace; but the contentions of his adversaries on the right as well as his dissatisfaction with the fanatics on the left, above all the overmastering force of the same words that held Luther captive—the *hoc est corpus meum*—made him sacrifice something of his logic, or, to use more customary but less intelligible language, his "mystical feeling," against external ecclesiasticism.

The practical question concerning the use of the sacraments has of late become acute in the history of the American Schwenckfelders. The younger and more progressive ministers especially are inclined to put a lax construction upon Schwenckfeld's polemic against the "external" rite: they admit that the exigencies of debate betrayed him into ill-balanced assertions, but they are likewise strong in their insistence that according to him the sacraments when rightly used are "means of grace."

‡ Döllinger, *Die Reformation*, I, 239 sq., declares that external baptism according to Schwenckfeld was only an outer reminder and confession of the inwardly received grace; and that the external Supper is only a picture of the inward eating. Kurtz (*Kirchengeschichte*, 9. Aufl., II, p. 150) says Schwenckfeld's doctrine of the Supper is mere symbolism, a charge which the reformer times without number explicitly denied.

§ Zwingli's statements on the eucharistic controversy present, as is well known, marked contrasts. When governed by polemic zeal against the Romanists and Lutherans he seems to deny that the Supper is in any sense a means of grace. Cf. his *Fidei Ratio*, in Niemeyer's *Collectio Confessionum*, p. 24: "Credo, imo scio omnia sacramenta tam abesse ut gratia conferant, ut ne adferant quidem aut dispensent." The positive thought he most emphasizes is that the Supper is "nihil aliud quam commemoratio, qua ii, qui se Christi morte et sanguine firmiter credunt patri reconciliatos esse, hanc vitam mortem annunciant, hoc est, laudant, gratulantur, et prædicant" (*De vera et falsa Religione, Opera*, ed. Schuler and Schulthess, III, p. 263). But it must be remembered that he at times taught that Christ is truly present in the Supper, and that his body is truly eaten by the believing heart. See below.

in fact, so close a resemblance to the Calvinistic doctrine that, with all allowance for essential differences, the term "means of grace" may be applied with almost as much propriety in the one case as in the other. Schwenckfeld and Calvin, in carrying beyond the limits of the Lutheran movement the basal distinction between Romanism and Protestantism, that pertaining to the way in which the soul's relation to God is mediated,* emphasized the possibility and reality of the direct operation of God upon the religious subject. They furthermore agreed in making the whole Christ the *res* or *materia* of the sacrament, and in making the work of the Spirit a distinguishing feature of their doctrine of the "means of grace," thus aiming to do justice to the objective content of the sacraments as taught by Romanist and Lutheran and the subjective aspects championed by the Zwinglians. Above all, in their spiritual view of the whole process of salvation, in which the sacraments conveyed no unique grace not otherwise obtainable, faith was emphasized as the indispensable condition for securing a dialectic and causal connection between the outer transaction and the inner effect. To be sure, Calvin succeeded in obtaining a far more satisfactory because intimate nexus between the spiritual and the corporeal, the divine and the human elements of the sacramental act, and it was especially his clear recognition of the sealing character of the ordinance that gave his views so speedy and complete a victory not only over those of his theological kinsman Zwingli, but also over those extremists like Schwenckfeld who belonged to a more remotely related spiritualistic school.†

We are bound, therefore, to ascertain more exactly the nature of Schwenckfeld's conception of faith. For it is obvious that it was by this bridge that he sought to span the chasm that lay be-

* Cf. Baur, *Die Lehre von der Dreieinigkeit*, III, 254.

† Schwenckfeld never attained, and from his premises, as will appear, never could attain, the high vantage-ground from which Calvin could regard the sacraments as seals of the new covenant. Lutheran writers, indeed, are wont to say that Calvin himself was not warranted by his presuppositions in taking so "high" a view of baptism and the eucharist. See, e.g., Kahnis, *Die Lehre vom Abendmahl*, p. 407 sq., and cf. Schenkel, *l.c.*, I, 429 sq. The latter, however, admits that Calvin has given the best solution of the sacramental problem (*ibid.*, and cf. p. XIX). But Schwenckfeld, as we shall find, was prevented by his conception of faith and his theory of the deification of the flesh of Christ, from securing any adequate view either of the work of the Spirit in the application of grace or of faith as the instrument of salvation.

At times, to be sure, attempts were made to vindicate a sealing character for the sacraments. See the Catechism of the Schwenckfelder Werner in Arnold, *Kirchen- und Ketzerhistorie* (1740), Vol. I, Th. II, B. XVI, cap. XX, p. 853. But all such attempts really exceed the logical warrant of the premises of the system.

tween his desire to preserve the objective content of the sacraments and his determination to hold fast to what he regarded as the deepest essence of Protestantism, the sole mediatorship of Christ operating directly, that is without the use of any creaturely objects, upon the believer's heart. It is only by securing an adequate grasp of his doctrine of faith that we shall succeed in doing justice to his otherwise altogether anomalous position between the Romanists and Lutherans on the one hand and the Zwinglians and Anabaptists on the other. Only so can we realize how, in his eagerness to preserve the choicest treasures of the new evangelical faith, he took so extreme a position against Rome that he found it impossible, save by an occasional felicitous inconsistency of thought, to regard the sacraments as anything more, in the actual life of the Church, than symbols or means of representing spiritual realities to the physical senses. Only so can we understand the logic of his oft-repeated statement that the external rites must follow, and not precede, the internal transactions.* Only so can we ascertain both the strength and the weakness of his sacramentarianism and estimate aright his contribution to the eucharistic controversy.

But we shall reserve the exposition of this and the related topics for the next number of this REVIEW.

* See *e.g.*, A 513c, B 601b.

VI.

REVIEWS OF RECENT LITERATURE.

I.—APOLOGETICAL THEOLOGY.

THE UNIVERSAL ELEMENTS OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION; An Attempt to Interpret Contemporary Religious Conditions. The Cole Lectures for 1905, Delivered before Vanderbilt University. By CHARLES CUTHBERT HALL, D.D., LL.D., President of the Union Theological Seminary. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. 8vo; pp. 309.

In these six lectures we have an essay in the difficult work of estimating and interpreting the present day religious forces and conditions and tendencies in the Christian world. It were no mean task simply to name these, to trace them to their origin and to describe their inherent characteristics. But it is a more ambitious effort to interpret them all, requiring not only some knowledge of their natural history and spiritual significance, but also somewhat of the insight of the sage and the foresight of the seer in order to prognosticate the issue. The lecturer is duly mindful of the magnitude and delicacy of his undertaking and carefully refrains from any tone of oracular dogmatism in all that he says. He insists that he is only the interpreter and not the defender, although the warmth of his language not unfrequently gives evidence of the sympathetic advocate and earnest apologist.

Dr. Hall's tacit assumption is that Christendom is now in a state of transition. The institutional *status quo* continues, but to one who looks carefully out upon the field it appears that "many elements of an order regarded for generations as unchangeable are in process of change" (p. 15). Throughout these lectures one is able to perceive, in the lecturer's view of things, the influence of his recent visit to India and of his study of the problems of Oriental thought and life. The first lecture is upon "The Church and the Christianization of the World." Dr. Hall regards the work of missions thus far, having been conducted under denominational auspices and largely tinged with the sectarian spirit, as only preliminary and preparatory. Sectarian missions are to world evangelization what John the Baptist was to Christ. The present era of sectarian propagandism in the East is to give way to that of which it is but the scaffolding, namely, the era of interdenominational movements. Sectarianism is a distinct evil now, though it once may have been a good. Indeed, the history of the Church has only been that of successive reinterpretations of an idea, which idea in absolute perfection existed only in the mind of Christ. One of the tendencies of to-day is to deny that Christ ever organized or contemplated a Church. Paul guarded against the two evils of sectarian activities and theological departures, and thus was "the Great Churchman" who planted the seed which contained the germs of the Catholic movement of later times. The trend to-day is toward a homogeneous Church on non-sectarian lines. Dr. Hall thinks laymen are leading the

ministry in this and kindred movements, but signs are not wanting that in such matters the most conservative and obstinately obstructive elements are to be found among the laymen. One would conclude from these lectures that this longing for a great comprehensive Church is a very vague and indefinite thing; it does not contemplate ecclesiastical uniformity or ecclesiastical standards of orthodoxy, old or new. Creeds and confessions not only always have been inadequate, but from their nature they must be so.

Upon inquiry into the content of the common essence of this great Church, the irreducible minimum, Dr. Hall says that there is a very strong tendency to reduce it to the words of Jesus as we have them in the three synoptic Gospels. By way of accounting for this tendency to non-metaphysical empiricism in religious thought, he names, first, the resistance of a philosophical scholastic theology; secondly, the resistance of an apostolical theology through its identification with that ponderous scholastic theology; and thirdly, the growth of the historical method in Biblical Study. However, with this tendency Dr. Hall does not hesitate to declare himself wholly out of sympathy. He argues nobly and strongly that the distinguishing dynamic of apostolic Christianity was not only its faith *in* Christ, but also its faith *concerning* Christ. A Christianity without a true Christology is dead. He does not fall in with that theological spirit, of which he thinks McLeod Campbell was the forerunner, making the Incarnation primary and the Atonement a category wholly subordinate to it. According to this, which Dr. Hall correctly designates as one of the most characteristic signs of the times, the Atonement was for the sake of the Incarnation, and not the Incarnation for the sake of the Atonement. The modern mind is scared away from the metaphysics of the Atonement; but, we may ask, is the metaphysics of the Incarnation any less terrifying? The lecturer's position here is very gratifying to the evangelical reader; and though he would differ from Dr. Denney in putting the highest note of Christianity upon the resurrection, rather than upon the death of Christ, yet he believes that the regrettable extreme is beginning to correct itself and he quotes Harnack as saying, "Whatever may have happened at the grave, one thing is certain: this grave is the birthplace of the indestructible belief that death is vanquished, that there is life eternal."* The converging lines which centre in Christ just now are those of reaction from substitutes for Christ in thought and life, of reaction from a pantheistic nature-worship and of a scientific study of religion. We do not see as clearly as Dr. Hall seems to the strength and relevancy of these considerations to the point in hand.

Dr. Hall's lecture on "The Constructive Office of Biblical Criticism" is to us very unsatisfactory. It may be that he regarded the scope of his lecture as limited because the theme had been narrowed to the *constructive* aspects of Biblical Criticism; but, even so, the general line of thought covered in his course called for a pretty full treatment of Biblical Criticism as a factor in contemporary Christianity. That that criticism has a *destructive* effect, if not a destructive "office," is a very patent and important fact, and yet it is a fact which Dr. Hall seems hardly to have caught sight of. He virtually identifies the implications of modern Biblical Criticism with the postulates of Protestant Christianity when he says, "Biblical Criticism implies the obligation to permit nothing to stand between the inquiring spirit of man and the Word of God" (p. 211). That is a remark which leaves a good many things unsaid; much that is said is true, but certainly Dr. Hall knows that the misuse or abuse of this discipline of Biblical Criticism has wrought such negative results as to call for a word of caution in the fair appraisal of the religious conditions of the time. He correctly traces the philosophical spirit of this Criticism to its English source in Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection and Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit*, and after a vigorous champion-

* Page 181. Quoted from Harnack's *What is Christianity?* (Eng. trans. p. 162).

ship of the warrant, the spirit and the methods of Biblical Criticism, breaks forth in an eloquent glorification of it which is unaffected by any special reference to the desupernaturalizing animus which too often actuates it, or to the disastrous consequences to evangelical faith which have too often been produced by it. We have no quarrel whatever with Biblical Criticism, but we must say that such an indiscriminate defense of it might tend to weaken the confidence of one who does not know the author's spirit in either his competency or his fairness.

The closing lecture on "The Larger Church of Christ" gathers up the results of what has already gone before. Here it is not so much the interpreter as the champion who speaks. In this larger Church the sectarian spirit, worn out and cast aside, will give way to the Brotherhood of Man. This brotherhood in the truth, the enlarged conception of the missionary function, the diviner estimate of the meaning and value of the world, and a truer understanding of the immanence of God and the universal activity of the Holy Spirit—these are in large measure due to the critical movements of the time and are the hallmarks of the Larger Church which is to come. Jerusalem with its racial exclusiveness, Constantinople with its standards of orthodoxy, Rome with its imperial symbols of power, and Geneva with its appeal to the intellectual in man—all these have had their day, but something larger and better is to take their place. It is this larger Church of Human Brotherhood for the meeting and greeting of which the West needs three things, namely: the chastening of the Anglo-Saxon spirit, the realization of the Democracy of Nations, and a deeper respect for Oriental national aims and religious aspirations (p. 305). These lectures are able, thoughtful and suggestive. The line which distinguishes between the views of the lecturer and the signs of the *Zeitgeist* which he is presenting is not easily traced, nor need we care to trace it; for his self-imposed task was not that of giving his own *credenda* but only his conception of what the present situation is. We believe that he has faithfully and truly designated some of the dominating factors of the present moment, though there is large room for latitude in "interpreting" them. Doubtless, there is going on in an important way in the world of Christian thought and action at the present time a realignment of forces and a readjustment of methods. We believe that much of this change spells progress. We seriously doubt the readiness of the Oriental world to throw off the check as well as the help of the Western "sectarian" Churches. By no means all missionaries agree with Dr. Hall on this subject, and certainly the history of the Church of Christ in Japan is not entirely reassuring. It is greatly to be feared that this creedless, structureless, non-ecclesiastical *omnium gatherum* in the East would fall an easy prey to grasping native politicians on one side, or to a thinly veneered paganism on another, or to an imposing and attractive state-churchism on another.

We believe that Protestantism, substantially unchanged, is here to stay, and that the Bible, substantially unchanged, is to be its imperishable safeguard and possession. We believe that while our little systems may have their day, any Church so large as to disregard standards of distinctively Christian belief, and to group together men under the vague and misty and meaningless symbols of Human Brotherhood, will be simply no Church at all. We believe that individualistic faith in Jesus Christ, as Atoning Saviour and Living Lord, is to have its recrudescence among the manifold reactions from the crystallized institutionalism, the devitalized confessionalism and the earth-begotten traditionalism which may haunt and harass the Church of Christ which is yet to be. We believe that there is a self-styled cosmopolitanism which is easily misled by the false notion that it is catching the many-sided spirit of the historic Christ, but which will find its truest and highest realization in bringing Christ and the World into vital touch with each other, and that in doing this—our greatest work—much that Dr. Hall sees coming may come, and much more never will.

Trenton, N. J.

HENRY COLLIN MINTON.

HAECKEL'S MONISM FALSE; An Examination of *The Riddle of the Universe, The Wonders of Life, The Confession of Faith of a Man of Science*, by Prof. Haeckel: Together with *Haeckel's Critics Answered*, by Joseph McCabe. By FRANK BALLARD, M.A., B.D., B.Sc., F.R.M.S., etc., Author of *The Miracles of Unbelief, Clarion Fallacies, Which Bible to Read, The Mission of Christianity, Reasonable Orthodoxy*, etc. London: Charles H. Kelley. Svo; pp. xvi, 605. Price, 5s. net.

This is a splendid work of negative apologetics: negative, in that it is not so much constructive in form as rather a rebuttal and reply to the leading positions of Haeckel; apologetics, in that it is a fine defense of some of the great truths which lie at the foundation of Christianity. The author is not unknown. His former works have prepared the reader for a brilliant and thorough handling of any foe that may cross his path or engage his valor. He has the two requisites for such a work as this: he has the argumentative temperament and he has the competent scholarship. Either were impotent without the other. That Mr. Ballard has the former is evident on every page. Plainly he likes nothing better than such a fight, wherein he who fights for victory fights for truth. He is not one whit afraid of his antagonist. He often turns the *ad hominem* with striking effect. He sees every breach in the armor of his foe, and he makes for it with cunning strength and with unerring aim. And his scholarly qualifications for such a bout are shown in his wonderfully wide acquaintance with philosophy and science, and his virile grasp and easy handling of all the great questions in dispute. Possibly not a few may doubt the call for such a book as this. We believe their doubt is not well founded. Haeckel is brilliant; his views are plausible; his books have been circulated and read to an amazing extent, perhaps more widely in Great Britain than in America. His translator and disciple is a very keen and gifted man. He was formerly a Roman Catholic priest and professor, the Very Reverend Father Antony, O.S.F., at St. Antony's, Forest Gate; but he is now Mr. Joseph McCabe, who tells the story of his transformation in his *From Rome to Rationalism*. His apostasy is another illustration of the soundness of the hard-and-fast alternative, "Rome or nothing;" and accordingly when McCabe left Rome he landed in the pit with Haeckel; and his book, *Haeckel's Critics Answered*, is classed with those of his master by Mr. Ballard in this bit of apologetic work.

It would be no easy task to write such a thorough and comprehensive review of this book as its merits call for. For it does not profess to stand alone; its very purpose and reason for being is to expose the weakness of certain other books. The success of the effort will, of course, be variously judged by various critics, each judging from his own point of view. Certainly it shows the thought and style of Haeckel to be vain, dogmatic and often unsupported, while Mr. McCabe is seen to be altogether too proud in boasting of both Haeckel's modesty and of his own. Haeckel has an easy and magisterial way of dismissing as ignorant or obsolete all who do not agree with Haeckel. It is amusing to be shown how a writer who is himself a septuagenarian accounts for the change of philosophical principles which is found in such men as Wundt, Kant, Virchow, and Du Bois Reymond by the fact that "with old age there comes a gradual decay of the brain, just as happens in all other organs." Of course, the change in each case where it betokens advancing senility is from agreement to opposition to Haeckel's Monism. Haeckel applies this same explanation to Newton, who, he says, "passed the last thirty-four years of his life in the obscure labyrinth of mystic dreams and theistic superstition"; and to the suggestion that senile declension must be reckoned with in accounting for this, Mr. Ballard is able to say that "when Newton was past Haeckel's own age he performed the mathematical feat of solving the special problem which Leibnitz had concocted for the express purpose of confounding

English mathematicians" (p. 303). Haeckel accounts for Romanes' *Thoughts on Religion*, in like manner, by what he calls one of "those psychological metamorphoses"; whereupon Canon Gore nails his words as "a malignant slander," and Dr. Burden Sanderson says, "Up to the end he preserved not only his mental vigor, but the keenest interest in his scientific pursuits" (pp. 28, 29). With this sort of argument Mr. Ballard is altogether at home; not that he uses it for himself, but that he knows how to meet it and how to handle it. Haeckel's omniscience is overawing and his oracular-like dogmatisms silence any other than a brave and courageous challenge. For example, he says in his *Confession*, "If any antiquated school of purely speculative psychology still continues to uphold this irrational dogma (*i.e.*, human immortality), the fact can only be regarded as a deplorable anachronism" (p. 318); and in his *Wonders*, "We now know that the light of the flame is a sum of electric vibrations of the ether, and the soul a sum of plasma-movements in the ganglion cells. As compared with this scientific conception, the doctrine of immortality of scholastic psychology has about the same value as the materialistic conceptions of the Red Indian about a future life in Schiller's Nadowessian death-song" (p. 318). When Haeckel is discussing the origin and nature of life, he cuts the knot by announcing that "there is nothing in life to know." Mr. McCabe has so far learned from his master as to be able to make announcement of this striking discovery: "God has shrunk into an intangible cosmic principle" (p. 319); and, once more, for the sake of showing how modest is the writer, who is constantly complaining of the offensive personalities and unwarranted audacities of his foes, we may quote this time from the *Riddle*: "Monistic cosmology proved, on the basis of the law of substance, that there is no personal God; comparative and genetic psychology showed that there cannot be an immortal soul; and monistic physiology proved the futility of the assumption of free will. Finally, the science of evolution made it clear that the same eternal iron laws that rule in the inorganic world are valid too in the organic and moral world" (p. 570). Is it any wonder that Mr. Ballard is led to say that Haeckel's contentions "deserve to be termed bellicose bombast rather than systematic philosophy"?

But whoever would know the strength of the defense must read this book for himself. It is enough to say that, for any one who has been influenced by the writings of this Haeckelian school of Monism, or for any one who cares to inform himself more thoroughly concerning its characteristic positions or concerning the soundness and strength of the answer which true science and Christian philosophy can furnish, this sturdy volume would be invaluable. Simply as a contribution to controversial literature, it is delicious reading. As a vindication of the integrity of Evangelical Christianity, not unscathed and yet unchanged and unharmed by these doughty assailants, it is superb; and as, incidentally, a correct setting forth of those things which should be defended as essential and those things which may be surrendered as negligible, it is in the main, viewed on the broad common field of philosophical presupposition, of scientific support and of apologetical outlook, entirely satisfactory.

Trenton, N. J.

HENRY COLLIN MINTON.

THE WORLD AS INTENTION. A Contribution to Teleology. By L. P. GRATACAP, Curator of American Museum of Natural History, New York. New York: Eaton & Mains; Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham. 8vo; pp. ix, 346. \$1.25 net.

This monograph is an able and abstract essay designed to support the thesis that the World, the Bible, Conduct and Creed, and the Church each stands for an Intention which is as yet partially and imperfectly realized, but which is on the slow way of progress to its final fulfillment. As Prolegomena, we have

extended treatises upon "The Supernatural" and upon "The Ordinates of Revelation." In the discussion of these "Ordinates" is developed what we should call the most striking thought in the book. As a question of form, we should say that the author made a mistake in introducing his discussion of this subject with an illustration which is so intricate and technical that to most minds it will poorly serve his purpose to illustrate. This is the illustration: "The ordinates of a point are those distances upon two lines at right angles to each other, from which lines produced until they intersect determine the position of the point in a plane" (pp. 53, 54). The truth which the author intends to illustrate by this is that the ordinates of revelation are need and desire. "On what we shall term the *anthropistic* side, need determines its own revelation and desire its own; on what we call the *theopistic* side, need and desire do the same. But when in *anthropism* need is strong, desire subordinate, in *theopism* need is subordinate and desire is strong; *vice versa*, when in *anthropism* desire is strong, need subordinate, in *theopism* desire is subordinate and need is strong" (p. 56). Accordingly, from man's standpoint, the Old Testament revelation was necessary and the New Testament revelation was desirable; while from God's standpoint, *vice versa*, the Old Testament revelation was desirable and the New Testament revelation was necessary. This is a suggestive seed-thought, and while the idea may not stand on all fours, it has enough in it to commend itself for thoughtful consideration.

The author's psychological study of "Intention" is sane and thorough, and his application of the principles of it to the Divine Mind is in the interest of a modernly interpreted teleology. We feel very strongly that he goes too far with such views as those of Mr. J. S. Mill in magnifying the crudities and cruelties of nature, and with what he calls "the new view" in magnifying the errors of Scripture—"its dilemmas of doctrine, perplexities of statement, probable inaccuracies and mystical explanations of facts." Of course, the greater the distance between what is and what is to be, the larger the field for the display of this element of Intention and of its gradual realization; and when any writer is so completely possessed by any one idea as this writer is with that of "Intention," he will be very likely to yield to the temptation to subordinate too much to that one favorite and comprehensive category.

Trenton, N. J.

HENRY COLLIN MINTON.

OUTLINES OF CHRISTIAN APOLOGETICS. For Use in Lectures. By HERMANN SCHULTZ, Ph.D. Authorized Translation from the Second Enlarged Edition (1902), by ALFRED BULL NICHOLS, Professor of German in Simmons College. 8vo; pp. xi, 328. New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1905. Catalogue price, \$1.75.

The title of this book is intended to be, and to a certain degree is, indicative of its nature. It is only an outline, a syllabus, of the author's* lectures. It "makes no other claim than that of a sketch that aims neither at giving the material exhaustively and independently nor at developing fully the reasons for the conclusions reached." It is, however, a much fuller outline than, for example, Prof. H. B. Smith's *Apologetics* and it is presented with much more regard to literary form. Indeed, Prof. Smith's work was neither revised nor prepared by himself, being simply drawn up by others from his notes and briefs; whereas Dr. Schultz has made his own outline and has himself revised and enlarged it. The result is that while it is so condensed as not to be easy reading, it is seldom obscure; and it would seem to be quite possible for any competent teacher of apologetics to read between its lines and thus to supply to his pupils

* Lately deceased.

what was in the author's mind. The term "Christian" is not so significant. In connection with apologetics it has come to have a fixed meaning. We have been accustomed to regard it as defining apologetics as the science of the proofs (1) of the necessity and consequent reality of the supernatural; (2) of the manifestation of the supernatural in history in the person and work of Christ as evidenced by miracles of act, of word, and of life; and (3) of the Bible as the supernatural and infallible record of this revelation. Until quite recently this has been the recognized content of Christian apologetics. It is not too much to say that it is its historic meaning. Dr. Schultz, however—and we are bound to admit that there are now many who agree with him in this—would state the contents of apologetics quite differently. "Its task is (1) to understand the nature and claims of religion; (2) to comprehend the historical phenomena of religion; (3) to exhibit the nature and perfection of Christianity." That is, whereas the old apologetics began with the Supernatural and the proof of his necessary existence; this new apologetics begins with so natural a phenomenon as religion and the explanation of its reasonableness: whereas the old apologetics proceeded to establish the intervention in nature of the Supernatural as witnessed by miracles, prophecy and Christian experience; the new apologetics goes on to the history and comparison of the various religions as so many developments of man's nature: and whereas the old apologetics would conclude by handing to us in the Bible the infallible record of the supernatural revelation of salvation which God has given to us in Christianity, and in it alone; the new apologetics would prove Christianity to be "the perfect religion," not by bringing out the truth as well as the unique saving power of its facts and doctrines, but by emphasizing the religious helpfulness of the personality of Christ, quite apart from the question whether or not he was and taught as the Scriptures, which he said "testify of" him, affirm. That the difference between these two kinds of apologetics is as wide as that between day and night is submitted. The difference is not only with regard to the method of proof; it is specially with regard to the object of proof. While both hold to God and to his creation and control of nature, the old apologetics would vindicate, on grounds of evidence, a religion which God has himself communicated to man from heaven; whereas the new apologetics, on grounds of feeling, would commend Christianity as the best religion which God has evolved out of human nature and by means of human nature.

Even more misleading is it to apply the term apologetics to such a work as this. Apologetics refers always to vindication. Our author has written to "establish Christianity's claim to be, for our age as for others, the perfect embodiment of religion over against those who dispute its permanent significance." This, however, it is absurd for him to attempt; and it is so for the following reasons:

1. He denies both the need and the value of rational evidence in the sphere of religion. "God," we are told, "cannot be an object of knowledge, but only of faith" (p. 101); and "the 'theology' of the Church of the disciples has as little decisive significance for our faith as do the results of the study of the life of Jesus" (p. 225). "The miracle of revelation, that God through the historical Jesus enters into intercourse with the hearts of men, condemning and approving, has simply nothing to do with the historicity of the external marvels related of Jesus, or with the question of what relation they bear to the course of nature and its law" (p. 67). Indeed, "we believe, not because of, but in spite of, the miracle" (p. 55). "For religion springs from a sense of the divine life, not from theoretic knowledge; and in order to overcome the obstacles to religion, that have their ground in sin, there is needed the rousing of right feelings, not the communication of a higher knowledge" (p. 47). "A great part of the peculiar power and joy of religion depends on the fact that a scientific proof of its truth is impossible" (p. 82). This position, however, is open to two fatal objections:

a. It is based on a false psychology. It presupposes that what are called man's different natures can operate in independence of each other. Hence, the religious and the theoretic spheres can be kept apart, and so a doctrine can have high religious value even though it have no foundation in objective fact. But the truth is that man's natures do not operate independently. They are not even themselves separate. Man has but one nature. His spiritual being is one and indivisible. It does not have even different powers. Its so-called faculties are but so many functions of one power, and these functions invariably involve each other. Intellect and will, for example, cannot be divorced; and, as Bowen has said, "feeling is a state of mind consequent on the reception of an idea." Hence, religion cannot be simply a matter of "right feelings." If "right feelings" are to be aroused, a "higher knowledge" must be communicated. In a word, that religion might be what our author affirms that it is, man would have to be other than he is.

b. The view taken of religious judgments, or judgments of value, is utterly destructive of their value. That religious judgments are peculiar and have an important place is not to be denied. Religion is animated by a practical motive. Hence, it does prize truth according to its effect on the heart and character. Further, religious judgments include an element of ethical decision. It is he "who wills to do the will of God who knows the doctrine" (John iii. 17). Finally, only the spiritually minded man can appreciate spiritual truth; for it "is spiritually judged" (1 Cor. ii. 14). In these ways at least religious judgment does differ from pure intellectual or theoretic judgment. The element of value does enter into the former, and more even than elsewhere the head does depend on the heart. As Dr. Schultz well says, "Apologetics can by itself neither convert nor save. God alone can arouse within us the faith that makes us righteous and alive" (p. 2). "No man can say that Jesus is Lord but in the Holy Spirit" (1 Col. xii. 3). All this, however, implies that the judgment of value rests on a theoretic judgment, and not *vice versa*. The spiritual helpfulness of a doctrine is conditioned on its truth to fact; its truth as a doctrine is not proved by its apparent helpfulness. The deity of Christ is a precious doctrine because it is the true interpretation of a real fact; and it would lose all its helpfulness, if his body were still lying dead in a Syrian grave. In a word, saving faith is much more than and essentially different from historical faith; but it is not independent of it. The latter is the condition of the former. It is true that "he who refuses to go beyond the boundaries of sense experience and of logic can gain no assurance of religious truths" (p. 3), but it is just as true that neither can he who in the sphere of religion insists on denying the validity of sense experience and of logic. The human spirit is not built in segments; and truth, though of diverse kinds, is always true.

2. Our author's position leaves him no infallible standard by which to establish the perfection of Christianity. He can no longer appeal to the Bible as infallible, and he does not claim to do so. He rejects the external evidences of miracle and prophecy, on which Christ fell back as attesting the divinity of his commission and that of his apostles, and therefore as guaranteeing the infallibility of their message. He prefers to go back to Christ himself. In him he learns both what Christ is and what man needs; and thus he is in a position, as he supposes, to develop his argument for the perfection of Christianity from its nature and adaptations. But how does he know what Christ is save as he can refer to what he did; and how can he know surely what Christ did unless he has an infallible record? And how can he, blinded and perverted as he is by sin, discern what he himself and men generally really need, and so determine the unique helpfulness of Christ and his religion, unless he has both a "teacher sent from God" to instruct him and an infallible record of his instructions? In a word, deny "the external marvels related of Jesus, and on the ground of which

he called on men to believe on him'' (St. John xiv. 11), and you have nothing left certainly but a Christ of your own conception and an ethical standard of your own imagination. This should be the condemnation of the kind of apologetics of which Dr. Schultz's book is probably as good an example as we have. If we prefer Albrecht Ritschl, with his non-rational and non-historical makeshift for Christianity, we shall, of course, doze on our author; but if we prefer the apologetics of him who is himself "the Truth," we shall regard the work under review as no better than a travesty.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

THE FINALITY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. By GEORGE BURMAN FOSTER, Professor of the Philosophy of Religion. The Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago, Second Series. Volume XVI. 8vo; pp. xiii, 518. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1906. Price, net, \$4.00; post-paid, \$4.22.

The material of this book was first given by Prof. Foster in two courses of lectures before the Harvard Summer School of Theology in 1902 and 1903. In response to numerous and most earnest solicitations it has been entirely worked over, put into its present elaborate form, issued as one of the volumes "in commemoration of the completion of the first ten years of the existence of the University of Chicago," and introduced to the public with the prediction, "by a high authority who has read the proof-sheets," that it will prove to be "the most important religious book of the generation"—that it will "occupy in theology a position analogous to that of Kant's *Critique* in philosophy."

The task of this pretentious volume, to quote its own words, is: "First, to disengage our eternal values from their supernaturalistic shell; to conquer the exemption of the self, grown conscious of its rights, from the tyranny of history; to make room for freedom and development as against the absolutism of ecclesiastical positivism. Secondly, since the modern world escaped the thralldom of the old static absolute but to become a victim of the fleeting and empty relativities of naturalism, it becomes us to wage war upon this new front also. If the old was being without becoming, the new is becoming without being, true being. Disengaging becoming from naturalism, we find the possibility of truth and goodness through becoming—the possibility of personality in which there is an eternal and absolute moment. Thus the principle of development, disengaged from its naturalistic construction, and the principle of personality are complementary; personality being end and not means, development being means and not end. In other words, supernaturalism excludes development—the element of truth in naturalism; naturalism excludes eternal values—the element of truth in supernaturalism; science requires the former, religion the latter. We can have eternal values without supernaturalism, and development without naturalism. But can we have eternal values and development, the relative cause of evolution and the absolute worth of personality? In this light our problem is plain: Does the idea of development, the golden mean between supernaturalism, which absolutizes a given form of the manifestation of Christianity, and naturalism, which denies absolute values in principle, constitute an *a priori* impossibility to the definite significance of Jesus in history, and to Weinl's striking phrase, 'After Jesus, it is his religion or none'?" In a word, the reviewer would add, Can we hold to development as a universal law, as science requires us to do, and yet regard Christianity as "the perfect, the consummate, the ultimate religion"? That is, can "the two ideas of development and finality be synthesized"?

In order to answer this question the author proceeds to inquire, What is "the essence of Christianity"? for clearly it is of this only that finality could be predicated. This, however, brings up "the problem of method." How are we to

know what Christianity is? We may not ask the Church as infallible, as the Romanist does; neither may we ask the Bible as inspired, as the Protestant does; nor yet may we ask the New Testament, as "setting forth the historical beginning of the Christian religion," as Wendt and his school do; nor even may we ask "the primitive gospel" and seek its kernel in "the religiosity of the present," as Harnack does. But what, after all, is that for which we are looking? What do we mean by "the essence of Christianity"? It is "the organizing and productive principle of the fullness of that phenomenon of life which we call Christianity." It "is 'a life,' and not merely dogma, or cult, or institution"; and the "determination" of this life "is, at all events, an historical task." Just here, however, is the problem. What constitutes the historical method? It is, first of all, descriptive. "It seeks to restore the complex of phenomena by the genius and skill of the constructive imagination." But when it has done this it becomes explanatory. It seeks the causes of what it has described, and in doing this it does and must rule out all "miraculous supernaturalism." These two processes, however, will not give us the essence of Christianity, indispensable though they are in our search for it. The reason is that the Christian religion is not only "an historical magnitude." "It entered into the history of humanity at a definite time, and has undergone historical unfolding and development since that time"; but, like all religion, it is intensely personal. "Now only persons can understand and interpret persons; and what person is great enough to understand and interpret Jesus?" Hence, "the impartial determination of the essence of Christianity is impossible." The personal equation is bound to enter in. That is, in this case, "determination of essence is *construction* of essence." The essence of Christianity "is not simply a datum to be received, but a reality to be created ever anew." "You simply take from the life of Jesus what you can use in your own spiritual household; and what you can use you call 'the essence,' the 'essentials.'" "Once personal, man must be free, free lord even of the essence of the Christian religion." Indeed, "the historian's exposition of Jesus will ever remain subordinate to the worth of Jesus as evinced in his practical effectiveness in the lives of his confessors." "It is not that the historical narratives are not of such a nature as to produce historical-science certainty, though that is true. It is that nowhere is historical-science certainty a cause of which religious certainty is the effect."

The author then proceeds, by means of the historical method, to get as close as he can to the historical Jesus. In this investigation he is, as he says, "wholly dependent upon a century of fine scientific work on the synoptic problem, in which he has had no part." The net result of this work has been given in Prof. Wernle's book, *Die Quellen des Lebens Jesu*; and it is from this book and from Prof. Bousset's *Was wissen wir von Jesus?* that Prof. Foster draws. "Both writers," to quote Prof. Johnson's recent admirable review of these volumes, "lead us through a comparison of the fourth Gospel with the Synoptics, and of the Synoptics with one another, to the conclusion that none of the Gospels is to be accepted as an historical document. The ultimate reason for rejection is not the lateness of date, for Wernle assigns the first three Gospels to the years 70 to 90 A.D. It is the conviction, in the case of both writers, that the Gospels give us, not the facts of the life of Jesus, but what the Church had come to believe about his life; and with both the faith of the Church is a distorting medium, so obscuring the truth as to make any consistent picture of the life or even of the teaching of Jesus impossible." As Wernle says, "We lose what for centuries has belonged to the fixed portrait of Jesus." As our author himself adds, "On the basis of the earliest or oldest sources, we can write no biography, no so-called life of Jesus." "In all the points where the faith of the primitive community itself is in movement and flux we have the greatest difficulty in laying hold of Jesus himself. These points are: Christology, pictures of the future,

belief in miracles, attitude to the law and to the nation." As to other things, however, and these the main things, it is different. "From the fullness of his parables and sayings, and from the numerous memorabilia of the moment, Jesus speaks to us as clearly and definitely as if he were our contemporary." "The closer we get to Jesus in the tradition, the more does everything dogmatic and theological recede. We see a man who through his clear word helps us rightly to understand ourselves, the world, above all else God; and who goes with us, in the extremities and conflicts of the present, as a most faithful friend and leader upon whom we may confidently rely."

In his closing chapter our author tries to be constructive. Having shown that in most respects we cannot tell what the real Jesus was, he proceeds to set forth what the real Jesus is. He is not what the real Jesus was. The latter participated in the theoretical and erroneous views of his day as to nature, as to spirits, as to the kingdom of God, as to the Messiah, as to the redemptive character of his death. His moral precepts, too, were temporary and local. With all this, however, we have nothing to do. It is the spirit and not the teaching of Jesus that we can use, and that, consequently, abides. We shall always need heroism, and in no other way can we get it so well as "by brooding over the heroic days of the Master." We shall always need impulse, and the example of Jesus will ever "supply dynamic and whisper his great 'Excelsior.' " "We shall always need faith; and while the *form* of his faith in God, the God-idea, may be changed, the *content* will hardly be surpassed." The finality of the Christian religion, therefore, would seem to amount to this, that the demand for a spirit like that which Jesus would appear to have had can never be outgrown. It must always be inspiring to all who would know God and eternal life.

So full an outline has been given of this, "the most important religious book of the generation," because it itself is its own sufficient refutation. Its positions are so radical and so absurd that simply to state what they are is the best argument against them. Nevertheless, as no outline can ever do justice to the whole subject, the following, among many other special criticisms that might be offered, may be useful to concentrate attention on some of the more significant characteristics of this alleged epoch-making book:

1. Though its material has been worked over, it itself is unfinished. Only the briefest table of contents precedes it, and no index of any kind follows it. Hence, it is most difficult to locate any item that may be needed; and this difficulty is increased by the redundancy, prolixity and frequent obscurity of the style. In a word, these chapters are still lectures: they have the limitations without the advantages of spoken discourse.

2. They are further blemished by inaccuracy of statement. But two examples may be given. One is the view of the Canon attributed to Orthodoxy. This is (p. 77) that "the Spirit witnesses to the immediate divinity of the Bible as a whole." Such, however, is not the doctrine. It never was the doctrine. "The fathers of the Reformed Churches, as little as we, sought to determine the Canon," the Bible as a whole, "which is a matter of history, on the basis of the *testimonium Spiritus sancti*, which is a matter of experience." On the latter basis they determined not the Canon but the Word of God, not the Bible as a whole but the divinity of what had been otherwise proved to be the Bible. "They treated the Scriptures as a unit because the Scriptures are a unitary apostolic book," as is proved by the testimony (not the authority, as Prof. Foster claims) of the early Church; and they then pronounced this book the Word of God because the Holy Spirit witnessed in their hearts to its truths. The other example is what is alleged to be Christianity's conception of the miracle. Thus we are told (p. 123) that "miracle is a supernatural affair occurring in *contradiction* to natural laws, through whose temporary abrogation alone it is possible."

No such conception, however, of the miracle is held by any intelligent theologian. A miracle contradicts natural law no more than the throwing of a ball into the air contradicts gravitation. Neither does it imply its temporary abrogation. On the contrary, the miracle presupposes the continued activity of natural law. It is on the basis of natural law that the new and supernatural force to which the miracle is due operates. These and other examples that could easily be cited suggest that our author has studied the critics rather than the teachers of Christianity. Unless this were so, he could scarcely misrepresent what the veriest tyro in theology understands.

3. The volume under discussion is even more misleading than we have just seen it to be inaccurate and unfinished. What it assumes to discuss and to establish is the Finality of the Christian Religion. By the Christian Religion, however, it does not mean what always has been meant by the Christian Religion, and what is still meant by that term by almost all except our author. What has been regarded as Christianity, the system of doctrine interpretative of the redemptive acts of God, and the life consequent upon the appropriation of this doctrine—this is not Christianity. This is what must be rejected, if we are to see what Christianity is. The question, then, is not, as we at first supposed, whether the cross is to continue unto the end of time “the wisdom and the power of God unto salvation”; it is whether so much of the Jesuslike disposition as is found to be helpful and inspiring under the stress of modern life will abide so. Now, perhaps this is the true form of the question. But if it is, ought it to be expressed in the terms of the other form? Would it be right to attempt to prove the existence of a man, when really what you meant was the existence of his corpse?

4. The argument is unphilosophical and needs only to be pushed to its conclusion to be seen to be absurd.

a. This is true of the criticism of the sources of the Gospels. Why Wernle and Bousset should admit so much as they do is not clear. The latter wrote against Kalthoff's contention that no such person as Jesus ever existed, yet the only difference between them is that Kalthoff is consistent and Bousset is not. There is no reason why “the faith of the Church” should not be the foe of historical science as regards the natural elements of the Gospels as much as regards the supernatural, except that Bousset's theory will not tolerate the supernatural. That is to say, the criticism in question is purely subjective. It amounts to this: What you do not like in the narrative cannot be true. Moreover, why should the faith of the Church be the foe of historical science more than are the ruling ideas of any given age? We are aware that this is admitted, and that the principle is adopted that Jesus is true only in so far as he goes beyond his age and is new. If, however, this be granted, it amounts simply to the destruction of history, and indeed of truth altogether. If only the new be the true, then there is no abiding truth; for what is new to-day becomes old to-morrow. Then this being so, finality is inconceivable, and the distinction of the epoch-making volume under review is its absurdity.

b. It is not otherwise as regards the psychology on which our author's argument is based. This is the independence of will and intellect, of character and belief, of personality and opinions. “What is the dogmatic Jesus—critically corroded with each new world view—as compared with the human Jesus; what is Paul's theology as compared with Paul's person; what verses of the Psalms as compared with Psalmists; what messianic predictions as compared with prophets; what many narratives as compared with their narrators; what opinions as compared with history!” (p. 405). This sounds well, but what does it amount to? Would Jesus have been the same man that he was, if he had not come from heaven to do the will of his Father in the redemption of the world? Surely such a mission and the consciousness of such a mission could not but have influenced most

powerfully his character. They must have made him the personality that he was. The soul is one and indivisible. "As a man thinketh in his heart so is he." Nor is it otherwise if we regard these beliefs and opinions, these "dogmatic corrosions," as mere errors of the age. Could Jesus believe so much error and not be affected by it? Could he be at once a false Messiah and the ideal man? Could he have been the most maudlin of intellects and yet the noblest of characters? The question has only to be asked to be felt to be preposterous.

c. It is the same in the case of Prof. Foster's view of the relation of truth to spiritual life. According to him, the latter would seem to be quite independent of the former. We may reject the teachings of Christ and yet share the life of Christ. To be detached from his precepts may even be the condition of being bound to his person (p. 458). "We can be like his character only by being unlike his conduct" (p. 465). We need not, therefore, worry because historical criticism has destroyed our knowledge of the deeds and of most of the teaching of Jesus. It is precisely in this ignorance that we may hope to be inspired by his heroism, filled with his energy, animated by his faith in God and love for man. In a word, it is just because we know so little concerning him that his life can become ours and can flower forth in doctrines which, though the reverse of what Jesus taught, will still represent what Jesus really was. That is to say, our author, because truth is not the cause of the Christlike life, jumps to the conclusion that it has nothing to do with the Christlike life. Because orthodoxy never yet made a Christian, he infers that orthodoxy is the great hindrance to Christianity. Is not this, however, to confuse the cause of a thing and the condition of that cause's operation, and to argue that because the latter cannot make the thing in question, therefore it could be made much better without it? Food is never the cause of physical life. Consequently, physical life will not be what it should be until we dispense with food. Such is the logic of this epoch-making work. Perhaps it is in this altogether new logic that we have the reason why it is expected that this book will be epoch-making.

d. Of the same sort is our author's teaching as to ethical standards. He admits such. He speaks of "the morally necessary" (p. 464). He affirms the dependence of morality on religion. "Upon the religious crisis follows the moral. It is only misguided superficiality to suppose that the fate of the moral can be lastingly separated from that of the religious. The hope of some lovers of our kind, that Christian morals may abide in the moral consciousness after the Christian faith in God has perished there, is as pathetic as it is sincere" (p. 248). But if we deny the supernaturalness of Christ, how can even his faith in God (allowing that Prof. Foster's position, that the Christ of the Gospels is about as unreal as Santa Claus (p. 434), left us any ground for supposing that we knew what that faith was) become "morally necessary" for us? Of us, one with us, no more sinless than we are, how may he make himself or be made by others a law for us? A standard to be such must emanate from one who belongs to a category above us. Hence the subjectivism which is the principle and the characteristic and the crowning absurdity of this whole argument. The authority of the words of Christ comes not from them but from us. They are morally necessary "only in case they mirror the morally necessary for us and in our situation." You and I are to be the judges. We are to make our own standard. This is the great lesson of Jesus. "He fought the error that we must first know God and understand his commandments in order to know the good" (p. 471). Could there be a more sweeping denial of his fundamental assertion of the dependence of morality on religion? It comes down to this, therefore, that that only is morally necessary for a man which he happens to think to be so, and because he happens to think so. Each one of us is the law and the authority unto himself. Of what does this remind us but of the days of the Judges of

Israel, of the anarchy and savagery which then prevailed, when and because "every man did that which was right in his own eyes"?

5. Yet, as "the wrath of man" always does, so even this unfinished, inaccurate, misleading, unphilosophical discussion will "praise" God. It will do so in its clear and uncompromising refutation of naturalism. It is that system which would "explain everything by nothing" (p. 213). "Science itself, which, modernity asserts, requires naturalism, is rendered impossible by naturalism" (p. 255). Again, it will support the truth by its strong testimony to the "empirical inexplicability of Jesus" (p. 267). "This may as well be conceded"; and this admission is significant just because the Jesus spoken of is, as we have seen, but the wreck, if not the caricature, of the person and character whom we recognize by that dear name. Once more, it will help the cause of orthodox Christianity by its frank testimony to the scripturalness of its distinctive positions. Thus, while we are told that "no real theory of inspiration was elaborated till Protestant orthodoxy," still, it is repeated that "the historical basis of the theory is the Biblical view of the prophetic inspiredness," and that "all the time the presupposition is the formal divine authority of 'Word of Bible'" (p. 65). The doctrine that God is our father in the highest sense only by his election and adoption of us in Christ is more than suggested as the teaching of the Gospels (p. 490). The dogmatic system which they represent Christ as holding is clearly that of the straightest Calvinism. Of course, our Gospels attribute to him much that he never said or believed; and, of course, too, he said and believed many things which our enlightened age has come to see to be false and pernicious. For example, to apply the ethical precepts of Jesus to modern life would mean "the downfall of modern culture." "They show no interest for the morally necessary forms of modern life" (p. 407). Still, it is a good thing to be told, by one who does not accept the New Testament as from God, that the orthodox interpretation of it is correct as an interpretation. Even if it be not competent testimony, it should be of all testimony the most unbiased.

The last and greatest service, however, of the volume under review will be its exhibition of the logical results of the thinking of Sabatier and his school. By making Christian doctrine the product rather than the necessary condition of Christian life they have hoodwinked our age. They have almost made the very elect believe that the essence of Christian life is to mean well. Prof. Foster's brutal presentation of the doctrines which have resulted from such a conception of the Christian life is fitted, as is nothing else, to call a halt, and to convince even the careless that to mean well one must think rightly, to enter into the life of Christ one must know the truth as it is in Christ. If this book should prove epoch-making in any sense, this is the sense in which it will be so.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

WHY IS CHRISTIANITY TRUE? Christian Evidences. By E. Y. MULLINS, D.D., LL.D., President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky. 8vo; pp. xx, 450. Chicago: Christian Culture Press. 1905. Price, \$1.50.

It is refreshing to turn from such apologetic works as have just been reviewed, and as constitute so much of the apologetic literature of our day, to this modest volume by the distinguished President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. Dr. Mullins is well read in his subject. If he is most at home in British and American literature, he is sufficiently familiar with German and French rationalism and criticism to fall into no inaccuracy in stating their positions. He is positive rather than negative in his aim. His delight is not so much in the discussion of particular objections to Christianity as in the construction of an argument so convincing that when once it is appreciated all

opposing theories, simply because they are opposing, must be felt to be absurd. Still less has he come under the sway of the concessive spirit. He is not one of the many who "surrender so much that their productions seem to be books on Christian evidences with Christianity left out." He "believes strongly that it is a mistake to exclude any of the essential elements from the defense of Christianity, in the interest of some alleged intellectual necessity of the times." "The parts of Revelation are joined together not mechanically but organically. One piece cannot be taken away as a sample, like an ornament from a cabinet, without injury to the whole." It is just because it is only a partial Gospel that is commonly defended that the charge of inconsistency is so often and so truly brought against it. His method, too, is comprehensive. He would present all the leading arguments for Christianity and in all their forms, and in view of the limitations of space he has succeeded remarkably. It follows, of course, that his style is terse, exact, simple. Every word evidences care. In the best sense, the work is a finished product. This is so specially as regards the supplement. Here we have a full list of the books referred to in the several chapters with the references—a most valuable bibliography, "constructed on the principle of indicating to the general reader such works as are not too difficult to obtain, and which will enable him to pursue his studies of the subjects of the various chapters at greater length when desired—," a full and exact "Index of Names and Subjects, and an Index to Scripture Texts." A singularly clear analysis of the chapters in the "Table of Contents" enables one before reading the book and at a glance to get a correct idea of its drift. In view of all this, it is unfortunate that the proof-reading has been careless. At the top of page 104 and on pages 150 and 151 will be found examples of this.

President Mullins' purpose is "to show that the preponderance of evidence from the facts is overwhelmingly in favor of the view that the ground of all things is a Person, and that that person has spoken to mankind in and through Jesus Christ. There are four classes of facts for which this is the only adequate and satisfactory hypothesis. The first class of facts is presented in physical nature, the second in the New Testament revelation, the third in religious experience, and the fourth in Christian history."

To particularize the strong points in this argument would not be easy; for there are no weak ones. It may, however, not be amiss to call attention to the whole of Part I. This, though almost excessively brief, is wonderfully clear and satisfactory. With a better outline of Theism the reviewer is not familiar. Very strong also is the chapter on The Meaning of the Synoptic Picture of Jesus. We are shown conclusively that the supernatural Christ is the only hypothesis that will account adequately for the unity and consistency of the picture. Very happy, too, is the treatment of miracles. The emphasis is transferred from them as interruptions of the physical order, which, of course, they are admitted to be, to their harmony with the moral order, which many overlook. We see that, Christ being what He was, it would have been a miracle or wonder had the natural order not been transcended by Him and His disciples. It would have been preternatural had the Supernatural himself never wrought the supernatural. Hence, while it is true that Christ commends to us the miracles, they are so congruous with his person and claims as further and powerfully to confirm these. Perhaps the most striking, as it is the most original part, of the volume is the argument from Christian experience. Its data are given. It is analyzed. Its evidence is presented and verified. Christ's necessary relation to it is set forth and proved. All this is done in the light of the writings of such psychologists as James, Starbuck, *et id omne genus*. It is clearly shown that not by the "idealistic Christ of Tolstoi, nor by the historical Christ of Ritschl, nor by the Christ of recent psychology, but only by a Christ who is present in the person and power

of his Spirit can the miracles of Christian experience be explained." And so we come, lastly, to the argument from the facts of history. Here the best feature, and it is one of the best in the book, is the reason given for the unique success of Christianity. We do not remember to have seen it exactly so stated before, but we do not believe that it could be more accurately set forth. "Christianity, as distinct from other religions, represents the divine initiative in salvation. In other faiths man seeks God. In this God seeks man. The incarnation of God in Christ is a reversal of the world movement in religion." Hence its triumph. It is from above; they are from beneath.

We recall but two sentences that we should like to see changed in the second edition that ought to be demanded. One is on page 136, and is, "The facts of the Christian religion are not dependent on critical theories as to origin." The other is on page 299, and is, "He who has known Christ's power in his own life is convinced, whatever may be true as to date and authorship of the books of the Bible." Does not this savor too much of Ritsehlianism to represent at all President Mullins? Facts are not made facts by their explanation, and we believe in Christ as our Saviour before we inquire as to the date and authorship of the Gospels. Nevertheless, does not the question whether a fact is a fact depend on the explanation given of it? And if such critical theories could be established as would justify Kalthoff's contention that there never was a Jesus, could what we call Christian experience be either Christian or real? In a word, while we often believe without logic, could we continue to believe against logic?

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

COMPARATIVE RELIGION: Its Genesis and Growth. By LOUIS HENRY JORDAN, B.D. (Edin.), Late Special Lecturer in Comparative Religion at the University of Chicago. With an Introduction by Principal FAIRBAIRN, D.D., LL.D., D.Litt. 8vo; pp. xix, 668. New York. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. 1905. Price, \$3.50 net.

"The title of this book explains at once its purpose and its scope. It embodies an attempt to give the reader a condensed yet comprehensive view of the origin, progress, and aim of the science of Comparative Religion." It is to be followed by two other volumes: one on *Comparative Religion, Its Principles and Problems*; the other on *Comparative Religion, Its Opportunity and Outlook*. This work, therefore, is not a treatise in Comparative Religion, but on Comparative Religion. "In the light of my own difficulties as a beginner," the author writes, "I have sought to produce a Handbook which would prove serviceable for serious study, or for merely occasional and general reference."

In carrying out this most praiseworthy purpose, Mr. Jordan has evidently been most diligent. As Principal Fairbairn says in his Introduction, "He has made many sacrifices for the work which he now gives to the world. He has for years sundered many friendships, surrendered his pastoral ties, wandered and dwelt in lands remote from his delightful Canadian home, that he might with a freer and more unfettered mind pursue the studies which have taken shape in this book. He has not only steeped himself in the literature of his subject, but he has also visited the great Universities, English, Continental or American, where he could by the help, whether of the library or the living voice, acquaint himself with what had been and was being thought and accomplished in the field which he has cultivated with such remarkable pains."

The skill with which our author has arranged for us the results of this research is as admirable as has been his industry. "Technical language has been avoided, while all foreign terms likely to present difficulty have been translated. Copious references to authorities have, of course, invariably been given; but these indispensable aids to the exact scholar, while sufficiently numerous to stimulate and

direct the inquirer's interest, have not been unduly multiplied. Several Charts which speak directly to the eye, and a series of Notes which will especially appeal to those who have been attracted to Comparative Religion by something more than a passing curiosity, have been furnished in an ample Appendix. In addition to a selection of relevant 'Literature' prefixed, to each chapter, a carefully compiled Bibliography has been supplied, together with two valuable Indices; of which the earlier one will be found to contain, in compact and alphabetical form, various items of information which are constantly in demand, but which are often entirely inaccessible when they chance to be most required." In a word, all the information which one entering on the study of Comparative Religion would need for his guidance is given by Mr. Jordan, and in such form that it can be turned up instantly. We wish that for every one, even of the older sciences, so full and so convenient a Handbook might be provided.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

THE IMMANENCE OF GOD. By BORDEN P. BOWNE, Professor of Philosophy in Boston University. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Company; Cambridge: The Riverside Press. 1903. Pp. 153.

In this little volume Prof. Bowne seeks to point out the harmony of science and the Christian religion by his conception of the Immanence of God, which conception he applies to nature, history, the Bible and religion, in four successive chapters. His motive is to disclose what he terms "the great heresy of popular thought respecting religion." This heresy is "the undivineness of the natural and the unnaturalness of the divine." This error, he says, has its root in "a deistic and mechanical philosophy." On the one hand, this philosophy produces a bald naturalism which banishes God from the universe and gives us a "self-sufficient mechanical nature;" and on the other hand, it gives rise to a false supernaturalism which sees God only in that which is marvellous and contrary to nature. Prof. Bowne wishes to substitute for these false ideas the conception of "a supernatural natural" or "a natural which forever depends on the divine will and purpose; and a natural supernatural, that is, a divine causality which proceeds according to orderly methods in the realization of its aims." In other words, according to Prof. Bowne, everything is natural when viewed from the standpoint of its mode of occurrence, and everything is supernatural when viewed from the standpoint of its ultimate origin in the divine causality and its continued dependence upon God.

There is much that is useful in this little book in its emphasis on the immanence of God against a mechanical and deistic conception of God's relation to the world. But we think that there is very much of error mingled with the truth. It is well to emphasize God's providential control over all things; but when all the supernaturalism that is allowed is the truth that everything ultimately depends upon God, and when no room is left for any direct supernaturalism in the *mode* of the divine activities—in short, when we regard everything as supernatural from one standpoint, and natural from another point of view—then we have already ruled out the supernatural as it appears in the Christianity of the New Testament writers. Of course, Prof. Bowne will not admit this. In fact, one chapter is devoted to a vindication of the Bible and Christianity from his standpoint. But at this point there is much confusion in his book. The man who, besides admitting the immanence of God and having an adequate view of the mode of the Divine Providence, also admits that God's activities are not all summed up under the head of His providential control, but admits that the strictly supernatural also occurs in the mode of the divine activities—this man is represented by Prof. Bowne as thinking of nature as a mere background or setting for continuous prodigies and of history as the sphere of the chaotic and arbitrary, as denying all the human

element in the Bible as well as all God's providential activities which have entered into the production of Scripture, as holding to a dictation theory of inspiration, and finally as finding true religious experience in extraordinary and chaotic states of mind; so that Prof. Bowne feels called upon to remind his reader that "opium, ether and chloroform are no key to the kingdom of heaven," and adds that not "the narcotized, but the pure in heart are to see God." Thus it will be seen that in his polemic against what he calls "false supernaturalism" Prof. Bowne has confused the believer in the pure supernaturalism of the Scripture account of Christianity with a mechanical theologian of his own making, and then has held the latter up to ridicule. It scarcely need be said that this is no argument against the kind of supernaturalism which finds room for the immediate efficiency of God and the direct intrusion of His power into the phenomenal sphere, while at the same time rejecting the mechanical deism against which Prof. Bowne's polemic is directed. On the other hand, the author's position which subsumes all the modes of the divine activity under the category of the natural, using the term supernatural simply to denote the dependence of all things ultimately upon God, falls far short of the pure supernaturalism of the Scriptures, and leaves no basis for the claim of Christianity to be the *only* supernatural religion.

Princeton.

C. W. HODGE.

II.—EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

KURZGEFASSTER KOMMENTAR ZU DEN HEILIGEN SCHRIFTEN ALTEN UND NEUEN TESTAMENTES, SOWIE ZU DEN APOKRYPHEN. DIE GENESIS übersetzt und ausgelegt. Von D. DR. HERMANN L. STRACK, a. o. Professor der Theologie zu Berlin. Zweite, neubearbeitete Auflage. München: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Oskar Beck. 1905. 16mo; S. xii, 180. Geheftet, 3 M. 50 pf.; in Leinwand geb., 4 M. 50 pf.

Prof. Strack's conservative attitude on questions relating to the Old Testament is well known. He accepts the analysis of the Hexateuch into five documents, JEPHD; but he contends that these hypothetical documents are essentially authentic in their narrative. They proceed from different pens, indeed; they are written with different purposes in view, by men of different temperaments and literary gifts and with different interests in life; and accordingly there are differences in the style and diction of the narratives, and different incidents or, when the events are the same, different particulars find record. But the accounts are not contradictory. Prof. Strack is pursuing the ordinary practice of modern historians in dealing with the sources of history. It is the accepted canon of modern historical criticism to discern harmony in the midst of diversity; to recognize the different aspects of an event in the several descriptions of it left by different men, and to adjust and combine them in a complete picture; to gather the fragments of history from various sources and construct the full story of the event. Yet this method is in utter contrast, and a rebuke, to the mode of dealing with these hypothetical documents of the Pentateuch as Biblical criticism is commonly carried on on both sides of the Atlantic.

The book before us is part of a comprehensive work on the first four books of the Old Testament by the same author and planned on the same lines, in Strack und Zöckler's *Kurzgefasster Kommentar*. In this revised edition interest centres mainly in the contributions of the author to the solution of the problems peculiar to the book of Genesis, particularly in regard to primitive history and the personality of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph. On both these subjects the new edition has been enriched. The author has reviewed the material offered by the Assyriologists with the soberness of cautious scholarship, lifting up a voice of warning regarding even the identification of Hammurabi

with Amraphel. In wholesome contrast with a bevy of writers on primitive history, he penetrates beneath the legendary to the historical. Compare, for example, the statement concerning En-me-dur-an-ki on page 24. The full evidence in the case is not always presented. It is frequently possible to strengthen his argument; for instance: (1) By pointing out the fact that the first chapter of Genesis is reflected in the first tablet of the Assyrian Creation Series and not in the Marduk section, as is so often carelessly assumed from superficial resemblances. The Marduk section is a sun myth. The first tablet is introductory; and in it the chronological order is recorded in which the gods came into existence. If for these divinities there be substituted the natural objects which the divine names signify, a chronological account is rendered, like that in Genesis, of the physical development of the universe (*Genesis and Semitic Tradition*, p. 10ff.; *Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, 1895, p. 746ff.). (2) By reinforcing his argument for the "days" in the first chapter of Genesis by a reference to the peculiarity of the Hebrew enumeration, in which the days are not made definite by the definite article, and to the first tablet of the Creation Series, according to which a long period of time elapsed between the successive appearance of the gods, *i.e.*, of the natural objects they represent. (3) By pointing out that not the seventh day only, but each recurring seventh portion of time, whether day, month or year, was consecrated.

Prof. Strack defends both the historical character of Israel's patriarchal narratives and the personality of the patriarchs. The historicity of the narrative is, of course, fundamental, but the question of the personality of the patriarchs may be separated for the nonce and considered apart. To the argument that the names are tribal, which is drawn from the longevity assigned to the patriarchs—175 years to Abraham, 180 to Isaac, 147 to Jacob, and 110 to Joseph (though Joseph's life is not extraordinary in its length, being frequently paralleled in modern times)—the author had already replied. Prof. Strack believes, as others have believed, that their great length of life may be explained, or at least brought within our comprehension, by certain facts. (1) The personal piety of these men and the simplicity of their mode of life. (2) Sin and anxiety work physical injury. The balance between the vital forces of man in his pristine innocence and the destructive forces of care and sin in man in his fallen state was reached gradually. The longevity of the patriarchs is "the after glow of Eden's glory."

The positive argument for the personal individuality of the patriarchs, separated from the general proof of the historicity of the narrative, consists of three particulars. (1) According to our Lord, Abraham was a man, an ancestor of the Jews and a hero of the faith. For example, Matt. viii. 11, "many shall come . . . and sit down with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom"; and also Matt. xxii. 31, 32; Luke xvi. 22; John viii. 51-59. Like Prof. Briggs (in *The Presbyterian Review* for 1883, pp. 77-81), Prof. Strack contends that Jesus did not pronounce on the question of the authorship of the Pentateuch, but did positively teach the historical character of the pentateuchal narrative. (2) The prophets allude to the patriarchs as individual men. For instance, Isa. xxix. 22; Jer. xxxiii. 26; Ezek. xxxiii. 24; Deutero-Isa. xli. 8 and li. 2; Hos. xii. 3, 4; Amos vii. 9. (3) The prominence of the personal element in the narratives. In genealogical registers, indeed, tribes and families are often spoken of as individuals; but the line of demarcation between a genealogy and a circumstantial narrative is recognizable. And in regard to the patriarchal history, the interpretation is exceedingly artificial which seeks to explain the whole record as a story about a race or tribe, yet written as though it concerned the experiences of several individuals. Prof. Strack exemplifies the truth of his conviction that "scientific work and faith in the God of miracles and prophecy are compatible with each other."

DER SABBAT IM ALTEN TESTAMENT UND IM ALTJÜDISCHEN RELIGIÖSEN ABERGLAUBEN. Von Lic. theol. FRIEDRICH BOHN, Hilfsprediger am Bethlehemstift, Ludwigslust. Gütersloh: Druck und Verlag von C. Bertelsmann. 1905. Pp. 97.

The main purport of this treatise is to compare the analogies of the Sabbath, outside of the sphere of special revelation and the post-revelation Judaistic development of the Sabbath, with the Old Testament law and Old Testament observance of this sacred day. The author at the outset establishes the fact that the Old Testament references to the Sabbath move along large lines and are practically the same throughout. He takes strong ground against the Wellhausenian construction, which would artificially make out a development even here, and finds it symptomatic of the fundamental fault of the Wellhausenian method in general: "The objection that must be made to this historical method is that it goes too far in unnaturally generalizing what is only a peculiar subjective mode of representation in the several documents, and applying this to the development of the institution in the life of the people and in the popular conception" (p. 10).

The writer's own standpoint is that of belief in a primeval revelation and a revelation in the patriarchal period, although he does not quite seem to have the courage to say that the Sabbath was instituted by God at creation (p. 49), but contents himself with pointing out how in the statement of Gen. ii. 3, the two important theological principles of the close conjunction of God's life and that of man, and of the sharp distinction between creation and further development, are laid down (p. 52). Instead of from evolutionistic constructionism, he expects progress in the field of Old Testament science from the study of the Assyrio-Babylonian inscriptions and of the Rabbinical literature. This, however, does not lead him to rashly posit a direct historic connection between the Assyrian Sabatu and the Assyrian "seventh-days" of the month Elul on the one hand and the Old Testament Sabbath on the other. Besides reminding the reader that the "seventh-days" have as yet been established for the month Elul only, which as an intercalary month may have had this peculiar feature to itself, he carefully points out the difference between this Assyrian institution and the Sabbath of Israel. The former applied to certain classes, the latter to the whole people. In Assyria we meet with detailed concrete prohibitions of a superstitious character, in Israel with the large suspension of all work. In Assyria all religious activities were interrupted, in Israel religious activities were intensified on the Sabbath. The day was bound to the phases of the moon in Assyria, in Israel it was independent of these. And the most important difference of all, these days were *dies infausti* in Assyria, in which by quietism and self-effacement man sought to appease the Deity; in the Old Testament the Sabbath is a day of joy and of fellowship with God. It should be remembered, however, that in regard to some of these points Assyriologists differ among themselves. Most interesting is that part of the treatise in which the author shows how the Rabbinical development of later Judaism more and more assimilated the Sabbath to the superstitions of paganism, by introducing into its observance the principles of quietism and asceticism, and that to a remarkable extent this development bears the identical features that meet us in the religious calendars of Assyria, Egypt and other nations. To be sure, even in the midst of this retrograde movement the inherent force of the revelation-truth regarding the Sabbath continued to assert itself, as may be seen from this, that the Talmudic regulations tend in some respects to modify the rigor of extreme quietism. Thus until the very end the contact and comparison of the Old Testament institution with human superstition bears eloquent witness to the superiority and divine origin of the former.

Princeton.

GEERHARDUS VOS.

THE MESSAGES OF THE BIBLE: THE MESSAGES OF THE APOCALYPTICAL WRITERS
The Books of Daniel and Revelation and Some Uncanonical Apocalypses,
with Historical Introductions and a Free Rendering in Paraphrase. By
FRANK CHAMBERLAIN PORTER, Ph.D., D.D., Winkley Professor of Biblical
Theology in Yale University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905.
Pp. xxii, 367.

The professed purpose of Dr. Porter is "to make historical methods and results in this region familiar to a somewhat wider circle of readers and students of the Bible." He proceeds on the theory, widely entertained, that "the writer of Daniel . . . wrote in the age of Antiochus" Epiphanes (p. 27), perhaps working up "traditions running actually far back" (pp. 30, 103).

The work is a popularization of recent theories regarding the Book of Daniel. It does not seem to us to be impartial, either in its criticism or its interpretation. The historical character of the Book of Daniel has not been established or destroyed by investigation, but is still in debate. Archæology has, indeed, cleared up many matters that half a century ago were obscure; but archæology is not yet able to speak the final word. The candid mind frankly acknowledges these facts. But in this book the debatable questions and enigmatical passages are levied upon and claimed as errors in history. The author should know and frankly declare that Daniel i. 1, far from containing a chronological error, is abundantly justified by the different methods of dating in vogue among the scribes. In the Book of Daniel the usual Babylonian method is followed, and the accession year of a king is reckoned by itself and the succeeding civil year is treated as the first regnal year; whereas Jeremiah and Palestinian writers of his day generally numbered the accession year of Nebuchadnezzar his first year. And this difference in regard to dating goes far to show that the writer of the Book of Daniel did not depend upon the older Hebrew Scriptures for his knowledge of history, as Prof. Porter frequently assumes, but had reliable sources of information of his own. Again, the four kingdoms are understood to be the Babylonian, the Median, the Persian and the Grecian. This exposition has many advocates. But to maintain it, it is necessary to interpret the second and third kingdoms contrary to the usage of the Book of Daniel itself, which repeatedly speaks of the Medes and Persians as one (v. 28; vi. 8; and especially viii. 20). Capitalis, indeed, commonly made out of the reference to a little horn in the prophecy of the seventh chapter and again in the eighth chapter. In the latter instance there is a general agreement among expositors that Antiochus Epiphanes is intended; and advocates of the theory that the Median and Persian kingdoms are distinct world-empires in the thought of the prophet urge that the little horn of the seventh chapter must also denote Antiochus, leaving out of consideration the fact that "horn" is the standing symbol for king and kingdom, and that the horn is described as little, not necessarily because referring to the same person, who in fact was not little, but because in each vision a horn is seen in the act of sprouting and, hence, is at first little. This interpretation of the four kingdoms ignores the fact also that the Roman power had already appeared in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and shown its supremacy over the Syrian monarchy at Magesia, and that it is actually within the horizon of the writer of the Book of Daniel (xi. 18, 30). Impartial investigation, we think, would acknowledge these facts and allow them due weight. The date of the book is, of course, not determined thereby, but its scope and purpose are. Nor would the judicial mind accept with confidence results which depend upon the free invention of history to support a theory. The interpreters who expound the prophecy regarding the ten horns in the seventh chapter as kings of Syria are forced to sin in this respect, and there are many transgressors among the commentators on the prophecy of the seventy weeks and in connection with the references to the evenings-mornings, times and days.

Biblical scholarship is concerned to know the literary character and the purpose of the Book of Daniel. Enough is already known to justify the belief that the result of scholarly investigation, whatever it be, will find its place naturally in the doctrine of Holy Scripture. The Book of Daniel certainly contains an apocalypse. The mysteries of the past, present and future are unveiled, and God's plan in history is disclosed. The question before Biblical scholars is at what point in the unfolding of the plan of God the author lived. Was he a contemporary of Cyrus the Persian, looking backward over the reign of Nebuchadnezzar and forward over kingdoms yet to arise; or did he live still later, in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes for instance, and have a longer retrospect but likewise a prospect, a view to the horizon where the kingdom of heaven should dawn? This problem is not to be solved by a citation of Greek and Persian words from the book, nor even by the assertion of historical blunders, although the proof of error or accuracy in the narrative has importance as a factor in determining the classification of the book and its date and author. There are two prior and fundamental questions. Is the Aramaic section the restoration of a mutilated Hebrew text, as has been mooted, borrowed from an Aramaic translation and filling a lacuna? If it is, no argument is afforded by the diction for the date of the original composition. Especially has the text been edited and interpolated? If chapter eleven, for example, contains additions to the original text, it was probably at first, when it left the hands of its author, a prophecy sketching in outline and with fewest particulars the struggles and triumphs of the kingdom of God. On the other hand, if the text of the eleventh chapter is immaculate, its date must be discussed largely in the light of the analogy of prophecy, in comparison, for example, with the Book of Isaiah. Not until these great questions have been settled can a satisfactory conclusion be reached regarding the nature and intention of the Book of Daniel. Investigation cannot, of course, tarry for the settlement of the text and the explanation of the use of the two languages. It must deal with each matter, even with isolated and unrelated matters, as soon as the means for their elucidation exists, and thereby it advances toward the end and has been advancing. But it never forgets the tentative character of its work, and that the conclusion of the whole matter must wait for the settlement of these questions.

In his treatment of the Book of Revelation the author is under the domination of the views expressed by Prof. Gunkel in his *Schöpfung und Chaos*. After a minute examination of the argument of Prof. Gunkel, and a careful investigation of the archaeological evidence adduced, real and fictitious, we became convinced that his views lack a substantial foundation (*Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, 1895, pp. 745-753). Furthermore, Prof. Porter seeks an historical counterpart for the minutiae of the sublime pictures in the Revelation, and he consequently entertains and expresses a low estimate of the work of Dr. Milligan, who thinks that the Apocalypse describes church history in its principles rather than in concrete details. We confess to a preference for Dr. Milligan's broader view. On this interpretation the Revelation of St. John the Divine is simple, intelligible and effective.

Princeton.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

BABYLONISCHES IM NEUEN TESTAMENT. VON DR. ALFRED JEREMIAS, Pfarrer der Lutherkirche zu Leipzig. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung. 1905. 8vo, pp. 132.

Nobody has given himself with more diligence to the ascertainment of the gains which students of the Christian Scriptures may hope to reap from the new Babylonian learning than Dr. Alfred Jeremias. Standing between the Assyriologists who know no theology and the theologians who know no Assyriology, he has diligently sought to mediate between the new learning and the old faith. Like

Prof. Cheyne, when speaking of Prof. Hugo Winckler, Dr. Jeremias is unwilling that "the deficient interest in religion and excessive self-reliance" of the leaders in the new "school of comparative religion" should prevent our learning from them whenever they really have something to teach. And that they have much to teach, he has no manner of doubt. Indeed, if he would not permit the Zimmerns and Delitzschs and Cheynes to interpret the entirety of Christianity as but the latest reworking of the Babylonian myths, he is yet not only prepared to allow but ready to contend for a large influence of the Babylonian mythology in moulding the modes of conception and the forms of expression in which the religion of revelation has been enshrined. In his view, the mythological conception of the universe which had been framed by the Babylonians, and the philosophy of history which was based on it, had become, in one form or another, the foundation stone of the whole speculative thought of the Orient; and as they enshrined not merely many truths of natural religion, but also a certain measure of presage, on the basis of natural religion, of the course of the divine government of the world, they lent themselves not unkindly to the use of the vehicles of revelation in their endeavor to present the religion of revelation in human forms. In a series of recent works Dr. Jeremias has been seeking to illustrate this thesis with respect to the Old Testament; in the present booklet he turns also to the New and places by the side of his *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients* a *Babylonisches im Neuen Testament*, which simply carries forward into the later books the principles of interpretation already attempted for the earlier. That Dr. Jeremias is over-enthusiastic in his estimate of the value of the Babylonian mythology as an organon of interpretation of the Biblical deposit, it does not seem to us that it requires an Assyriologist to discover. There is much that he suggests with more or less confidence which seems far-fetched; and an attentive reading of the present booklet has left upon our mind an impression that the gain that is to come to us from the new learning for a better understanding of the text of the New Testament is unexpectedly small. A phrase here and there may have a new light thrown upon it; a clearer sense is given us of the essentially Oriental nature of the popular background of confused conceptions upon which the New Testament revelation is thrown up; a deeper conviction is conveyed to us of the futility of the varied attempts which have been made to explain the supernatural accompaniments of the Revelation of God in Christ out of the natural conditions in the midst of which it was communicated to men. Beyond this, there is little or nothing that has been suggested which materially illuminates the page of Scripture.

Dr. Jeremias begins the pamphlet before us by explaining his point of view as over against the "comparative-religion school," which would fain look upon Christianity as simply a syncretistic religion, the end-term (so far) of a long natural development; and which would deny to Christianity, therefore, all absoluteness and finality. He looks upon Christianity as something unique and absolute, to which not merely relative but absolute perfection is to be ascribed; as offering in Jesus Christ that communion with God which was vainly sought in nature by other religions. He does not therefore, however, suppose that a study of the history of religion in the world has no value to us as Christians; we may, on the contrary, he thinks, be helped by such a study to a deeper comprehension of Christianity. And that for two reasons: (1) The revelation of God which found its completion in our Saviour Jesus Christ was humanly mediated. It found points of connection on all sides with what existed about it, and set forth its truths by means of the media of expression which the actual world in the midst of which it appeared supplied. The New Testament books, just as truly as those of the Old Testament, came into being under the influence of the culture of the old Orient, and we must allow for the reflection of this culture in the form in which they present their truths if we would truly gather out from them the kernel of their message to us. (2)

This actual world into which God's revelation in Christ entered was no God-forsaken world. God has never deserted the world, but was leading the "nations" also steadily up to the Revelation in Christ. As *ὁ ὅλος σπειρματικός*, He was the principle of all their thinking on divine things, and we must not be surprised to find that the nature-worship of the heathen contained shadow-pictures of the truth. In Christianity there has come to realization what the worship of the "initiates" strove after and never could quite attain to.

It is clear that these principles amount in effect merely to the recognition on the one side that men must speak and think, too, in the forms accessible to them, so that all their conceptions and modes of expression are colored by their culture-forms; and on the other, that Jesus Christ is the "desired of all nations" as well as the promised Redeemer of God's people, so that all the deeper yearnings of sin-stricken humanity find their satisfaction in Him no less than the definite predictions of the Prophets. There seems little room for difference here except in the way in which these general judgments are applied for the actual explanation of the New Testament. They may be so applied that all that is distinctive of Christianity is pronounced merely a human mode of conceiving the fundamental doctrines of natural religion—inevitable to men of the time in which Christianity arose, heirs as they were of the old Oriental culture-forms which dominated the thought of the then world. An effort so to apply them may be read, as well as elsewhere, in Dr. Cheyne's little book, called *Bible Problems*. It is not so that Dr. Jeremias, we are happy to say, applies them, despite what we must regard as the exaggerated use he is inclined to make of the Babylonian mythology as an instrument of interpretation. He protests continually, that to him Christianity is a supernatural religion; and that the supernatural facts which lie at its basis in the New Testament records of its origin really happened; and that the supernatural power it has brought into the world really energizes in the souls of men to their salvation. "The contention which has of late been made," he remarks, "according to which the Christology and eschatology of the Christian Church are to be explained on the basis of a syncretism of the Gospel of Jesus with the mythology of the old religions, rests on the mistake which supposes that by a criticism of the form it has explained the religious realities which have been brought to expression in it" (p. 46). Indeed, he seems at times to protest almost too much, leaving a suspicion in the mind of the reader that the writer does not feel quite sure that the suggestions he makes of the influence of the Babylonian ideas upon the fabric of the New Testament will appear to all perfectly compatible with the divine origin of the facts, teachings, customs recorded. At all events, however, Dr. Jeremias leaves no room for doubt that he wishes to preserve intact the entire Christian tradition as historically authenticated fact and divinely taught doctrine. And that being understood, the rest is a matter of detail, about which men may reason commodiously.

The two things Dr. Jeremias has set out to show are, it will be remembered, that there are forms of conception and expression to be found in the New Testament records which are ultimately derived from the old Babylonian mythology; and that there are traceable in the New Testament record indications of the Divine purpose to meet in Christianity the needs of the human heart which were given expression in the old Babylonian mythology. Illustrations of the former of these two phenomena he finds most richly in the figurative language of the Apocalypse; and it appears likely not only that an expression here and there may be best explained by the assumption of a coloring derived ultimately from the traditions of Babylonian culture, but that occasionally a whole scene—like that say in the fourth and fifth chapters of the Apocalypse—may find a richer meaning from the suggestions of such reminiscences. Our attention is attracted most strongly, however, to the second phenomenon. What Dr. Jeremias urges here is not merely that "there appears in Christianity the realization of 'all that God

spoke unto the fathers by the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners," but also that "what to the heathen was their deepest desire and longing, and was hidden by them, as precious treasure, under the sheath of their myths, became fact and truth through Him who without myth can say, 'Lo, I make all things new,' " (p. 12). A good illustration of what is intended may be supplied by Dr. Jeremias' discussion of "the history of our Lord's birth in Matthew." It has been customary to explain Matthew's Gospel as ordered with a view (among other things) to setting forth Jesus as the Messiah promised to God's people. Dr. Jeremias thinks we may see in it also a purpose to set forth Jesus as the Great Redeemer-King, the expectation of whom, on the foundation of the cycle of the returning sun, had passed into the mythology of the peoples. "The author of the history of the childhood of Jesus in Matt. i. *sq.*, also," he remarks, "knew the old Oriental myth of the Redeemer-King. The whole Gospel is permeated with the purpose of portraying Jesus as the King. In the beginnings of the life of Jesus the author shows how the history builds schemata, how the occurrences that accompanied the advent of the Redeemer-King correspond continually, trait by trait, not merely with what the prophets have predicted, but with what the myths of the East have foreboded" (pp. 46, 47). Instances in point he finds in the genealogical register, which he supposes to have the "tendency" to show that with the birth of this King the new "world-year" has begun—supported as it is by other indications that now a dividing of the world-ages has arrived (Matt. x. 35, xi. 11); in the star of the Magi and their gifts; in the persecution of the Child and His flight to Egypt; in the angel greeting; and in the very Virgin-birth itself. These things he supposes not (as others of more rationalistic tendencies suppose) to have been (unconsciously) invented by the myth-taught people, but to have been (consciously) selected by the writer for record, in order to commend Jesus to the myth-loving people as the reality hidden in the mythical constructions. Dr. Jeremias is express and iterant that the occurrences recorded by Matthew were real occurrences; it is only Matthew's selection of just these occurrences for record that is under discussion. His contention is that the history sets forth "as reality what the myth of the ancients had forboded as the fulfillment of the hope of humanity" (p. 49). There is something, indeed, one step deeper than this. He suggests not merely that these things are recorded by the author of the first Gospel to meet the presage of the myth; but, as we have seen, even that in some sense they happened for the same end. "I trust," writes Dr. Jeremias, "I shall not be misunderstood. That the Christian tradition of the Virgin-birth was a product of the Oriental myth we deny absolutely on the ground of the standpoint which has been explained. Here, too, the Oriental myth supplies the shadow of a religious reality which came to manifestation when 'the fullness of the time was come' " (p. 48).

It certainly is an attractive idea that in the ordering of the circumstances of His gift to the world of a Redeemer from sin, the good Lord should have reached down to those who were, however fumblingly, feeling after Him, if haply they might find Him, and should have smoothed the pathway for their feet. Something like this seems in any event to have occurred when He led the astrologers of the East to the infant Jesus by a star which guided them to His presence. May we believe that this incident was but typical of the whole course of the Divine dealing with the peoples; and that in bringing the Redeemer of the world into the earth He took care so to present Him to the contemplation of men that they should see in Him the real Redeemer-King for whom they had been hoping—the "Saviour" whom the founder of every new Oriental dynasty had vainly proclaimed himself to be; whom, latest of all, Augustus was being declared to be at that very moment—the Saviour of man, who had brought peace at last to earth? There certainly seems to be no reason why something like this should not be the case; and this

would carry with it the recognition that even the Virgin-birth may well have had this as one of the (subsidiary) ends it served in the economy of the Divine salvation, that it should mark out to the seekers after redemption among the nations this Child as the real Redeemer-King of whom all their fathers had spoken and upon whom all their hopes had been built. The real questions which confront us with a book like Dr. Jeremias' in our hand do not concern this question of principle, but rather certain questions of fact: whether a sound or plausible case has been made out by him for the actual ordering of Providence which is assumed and for the indications of it in the New Testament record which are suggested; and whether in his attempt to make out this case Dr. Jeremias has restrained himself in all his suggestions within the limits set by it, or may not have in some instances gone far enough afield to raise the question whether, in case his contentions be allowed, something more than what he pleads for may not seem to follow. We prefer not to attempt a categorical response to these questions, but to leave the matter with the simple acknowledgment that we have our doubts.

The reader may, perhaps, expect a brief formal description of the contents of Dr. Jeremias' booklet before we close. After an Introduction in which he explains the standpoint of his investigation, he presents his material in ten chapters. The earlier of these are fundamental; the later deal more with details. In the first he seeks to uncover traces of the great "calendar-myth of the dying and conquering Year-God." These he seeks in turn in the figurative language of the Apocalypse, in the mocking of the suffering Jesus, and in the parable of the dying seed-corn. This chapter closes with an Appendix on the seven planets in the Apocalypse. The second chapter deals with the manifestation of the Redeemer-King, and the third seeks to discover traces of these myths in the "Birth-history of Jesus in Matthew." In the fourth a Babylonian origin is suggested for the idea of heavenly correspondents to earthly things, as exhibited, for example, in the case of "the holy things" in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The fifth treats of "The Book of Life," and the sixth of "The Water, Bread and Stone of Life," all of which are pronounced Babylonian conceptions. The "Angels" are the subject of the eighth chapter; and that of the ninth is "The Twelve Apostles and the Zodiac, the Four Evangelists and the four corners of the earth"—on the face of it an overstrained parallel. Finally, in the tenth chapter a long series of "Oriental Glosses on particular passages in the New Testament" are given, naturally of very varied character. Probably Dr. Jeremias has called attention to most of the matters in which the influence of Babylonian conceptions in the New Testament can be plausibly suggested. It was well to have attention directed to them: and it is possible that even after their sifting something of importance may remain. But sifting is obviously necessary: and it is just as obvious that there is much that is suggested which after the sifting will not remain.

Princeton.

B. B. WARFIELD.

CHRISTIANITY IN TALMUD AND MIDRASH. By R. TRAVERS HERFORD, B.A.
London: Williams & Norgate. 1903. Pp. x, 449. 18s. net.

This book presents a careful collection and a minute discussion of all the references in Talmud and Midrash to Jesus and to the heresy designated by these Jewish writings as Minuth. The contents are ordered as follows: In the introduction the author renders a more than usually lucid account of what is comprised in the voluminous bodies called Talmud and Midrash and of how other collections stand related to these, an account for which many a reader who, not being a Jewish scholar, has lost his way in the confusing terminology as frequently given, will be grateful to him. The first division is made up of the passages

collected from the Rabbinical literature: A. Passages relating to Jesus; B. Passages relating to Minim, Minuth. Under the latter head the subdivisions are: 1. Descriptions and definitions of Minim and Minuth; 2. Polemical encounters between Jesus and Minim; 3. Polemical allusions to Minim, Minuth; 4. Miscellaneous passages referring to Minim. The second division deals with the general results obtained by induction from the collected data and deals again separately with the Jesus-tradition and the Minim. In the division containing the passages the author proceeds very methodically, giving each time a careful translation, to which he appends a commentary and a discussion of the chronology of the Rabbinical authorities on whose names the tradition is given. (At the close of the book all these passages are printed in the original.) The comments will to many a reader give the first inkling of what the text means, so obscure and enigmatical is the latter in many places. The author exhibits great skill in expounding it, although occasionally he himself is compelled to own that he does not understand the meaning of a given passage. On the whole, however, the reader who would expect the subject to be dry and uninteresting will be agreeably disappointed. There is a peculiar quaintness and naïveté in these conceits of the Jewish Rabbis which gives them a certain charm; especially their interpretations of Old Testament passages in the interest of meeting the heretical exegesis of the Minim are remarkable for their Rabbinical flavor. As regards the concrete results from the point of view of an increase of our knowledge of the life of Jesus and the early history of Christianity, it must be confessed, and the author himself confesses, that these are immaterial. We learn nothing new from these Jewish traditions that we did not know from the Gospels. In no case, as the author himself tells us, is there ground to correct the Gospel account by the help of the Talmud; it is the Gospel account rather which throws light upon the Talmudic tradition (p. 82). In many cases it is evident that we have to deal not with genuine Jewish tradition come down independently of the Gospel tradition or the written Gospels, but simply with a Jewish version or perversion of knowledge obtained from the Christian sources themselves. Perhaps, the most extreme wing of New Testament critics, who have in all seriousness begun to doubt whether Jesus was an historical character, can learn from the Talmudic accounts about Jeshu ben Pantiri, Jeshu ha-Nötzri and Ben Stada that Jesus really existed (p. 359). Whether genuine Jewish tradition lies at the basis of the statement that Jesus was born out of wedlock, so that we should have here a Jewish version of the fact of the supernatural birth of the Saviour, is not easy to tell. The peculiar representation that Jesus' mother was "Miriam, the dresser of women's hair" (Miriam Magaddela Nashaia), which seems to be an echo of Miriam Magdalaah, i.e., Mary Magdalene, is not decisive, since this might just as well have been derived from historic reminiscence as from confused knowledge of Gospel tradition. Taking the facts as a whole, it is astounding how little impression the great figure of Jesus seems to have made upon the legal tradition of Judaism. Not even the central fact of his having laid claim to Messiahship has been remembered. So confused is the account that his death is located at Lüd, instead of at Jerusalem, and attributed to stoning. The question might be put whether, in view of these meagre results, the amount of labor spent upon this part of the work seems justified. Still, even though the results are small and negative, it is of some value to have thoroughly canvassed the subject and established the facts once for all. It should be added that, according to a note on page 35, the author professes to have done no more in the section relating to Jesus, than to rearrange the material and modify some of the conclusions of Laible's work, *Jesus Christus im Talmud* (1871).

Of a more substantial and positive character are the discussion of the passages relating to Minim and Minuth and the conclusions drawn from this in the second

division of the book. As to the name Min, Herford is of the opinion that it can be explained from the common Hebrew word Min, denoting kind, species (cfr. "sect," "hairesis"), but that through the similarity between its synonym Zan ("kind") and Zannah, "to commit whoredom," Min obtained the connotation of one who commits religious adultery. The Minim are not heretics in general, but a peculiar kind of heretics coördinated with other kinds. They are as a rule Jews by birth, and their specific difference seems to be that they are false at heart and do not necessarily proclaim their apostasy, because they continue to mingle with the Jews in their religion. The author reaches the conclusion that in most cases the Minim of the Talmud are Jewish Christians. In this he takes issue with Friedländer, who in a series of writings has advocated the view that the Minim are mostly Gnostics, and built on the references to them the theory that there was Gnosticism among the Jews of a præ-Christian date. Herford adduces many convincing reasons for reducing the extravagant claims of Friedländer, and exposes in not a few points the inexcusable carelessness of the latter's method of argumentation. He shows that what is said about the belief of the Minim in "the two powers" cannot relate to the Gnostic Demiurge and the highest God, because these two powers are associated in the creation of the world, in which the Supreme God of the Gnostics had no share, and that therefore there must be a reference in these "two powers" to the Christian association of Jesus as divine with the Father. Still, it remains somewhat doubtful in our mind whether our author has not run into the opposite extreme to Friedländer's contention, by hardly allowing any place at all for the Gnostics among the Minim. In his recent work, *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judenthums im Zeitalter Jesu* (1905), Friedländer emphatically repudiates the view imputed to him, as if all Minim were without exception Jewish Gnostics. Some reserve may also be in place with reference to the peculiar form in which Herford carries out his hypothesis of the Jewish-Christian character of the Minim. He thinks that the references to "the two powers" presuppose a knowledge of the Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and makes this Epistle mark a crisis in the history of Jewish Christianity, viz., the definite separation of the Jewish Christians from the synagogue, by which they became Minim. The question of the nationality of those to whom the Epistle is addressed is still *sub judice*, and in simply taking for granted that the first readers were Jewish Christians in Palestine the author gives the impression of dealing too easily with a difficult problem simply because it fits in with his hypothesis. But apart from this, we believe that the whole tenor of the Epistle is against the view that the readers were now first awaking to the consciousness of their religious distinctness from Judaism. Nor is it necessary to account for the Talmudic references to the Christian Christology and other points by assuming knowledge of this one particular writing of the New Testament. We certainly may believe that in the time spoken of there were Jewish Christians in Palestine who believed in the divinity of Jesus.

A slip is the statement on page 106 that James the brother of Jesus was put to death 44 A.D.

Princeton.

GEERHARDUS VOS.

BIBLISCHE ZEITSCHRIFT. In Verbindung mit der Redaktion der "Biblischen Studien" herausgegeben von Dr. JOH. GÜTTSBERGER, Professor an der Universität München, und Dr. JOS. SICKENBERGER, Professor an der Universität Würzburg. Dritter Jahrgang. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung. 1905. St. Louis, Mo.: 17 South Broadway. Quarterly. Price, \$3.50.

This periodical, published by Roman Catholic scholars, has during the past year fully maintained its previous high character both for learning and conserva-

tism. A glance at the contents and the perusal of a few articles will convince the unprejudiced reader that the Romanist position does not *de facto* render participation in the work of modern Biblical scholarship impossible. The repertoire here offered us is most varied in its character; philological articles alternate with historical and exegetical ones, such as that of Prof. Bardenhewer on the Annunciation to Mary, in which the recent attacks upon the historicity of the Virgin-birth are ably criticised, a subject since more extensively treated by the same author in Heft 5 of Vol. 10 of the *Biblische Studien*. All the articles give evidence of a thorough acquaintance with the work of modern Biblical scholarship and of, what is often missed in Protestant periodicals of the same grade, full appreciation of its theological and religious trend. A very valuable feature is the Bibliography at the close of each number, which includes not only books but also the periodical literature, and, instead of giving mere titles, orients the reader at once by briefly stating the content, scope and conclusions of each book or article. This Bibliography, in point of view of completeness and instructiveness, ranks with the best. Protestant workers in the field of Biblical learning, especially of the conservative corps, cannot afford to ignore the *Biblische Zeitschrift* or the work of these Catholic scholars in general. That there is reason to think they sometimes do so, appears from the following sentence, taken from the bibliographical note on Zahn's Commentary on Galatians: "We hope that this excellent commentary will not be ignored by Catholic theologians, in the same way as it (Zahn's Commentary) ignores the Catholic literature."

Princeton.

GEERHARDUS VOS.

III.—HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

A. H. FRANCKES BRIEFE AN DEN GRAFEN HEINRICH XXIV J. L. REUSS ZU KÖSTRITZ UND SEINE GEMAHLIN ELEONORE AUS DEN JAHREN 1704 BIS 1727. Herausgegeben von Dr. BERTHOLD SCHMIDT und Lic. theol. OTTO MEUSEL. Leipzig, 1905. 8vo; pp. iv, 170. Price, 3 Marks.

This collection of ninety-eight letters by Francke to Count Henry XXIV of Reuss and his wife, together with a number of related documents, is of considerable interest and value as a contribution to our knowledge of the early history of Pietism. It had been surmised over a decade ago that success would sooner or later attend a diligent search for epistolary evidence of the intimate relations known to have existed between Prof. Francke and the reigning house of Reuss. In the year 1903, accordingly, two bundles of documents were found in the archives of Köstritz, one labeled "Original letters of the sainted Prof. Francke, written for the most part *ad Illustrissimum XXIV*," but containing also hints for the replies by the Count, as well as other notices, all of the year 1714; and the other consisting chiefly of autograph letters of Francke to the same Count and his wife, but containing also letters to and from other persons.

The present volume is devoted primarily to the letters written by Francke. The "Introduction" gives the necessary information concerning the leading personages named in the correspondence, especially the deeply pious and the enthusiastically pietistic prince himself, while the voluminous notes throw all possible light upon the biographical and historical problems raised by these new documents. The editorial work has been done with great thoroughness. On the whole, the letters tell us more about the prince and his influential labors in behalf of Pietism than of the character of their author. It is, indeed, a pleasing revelation here given us of a singularly devout, benevolent and broad-minded ruler. The letters also clearly show how speedily Pietism became a

dominant force in the highest social circles, and with what skillful diplomacy Francke furthered his cause.

Among the supplementary documents there is a most interesting one containing the plan for the establishment of the *Seminarium Ministerii Ecclesiastici* and the *Seminarium Eligantioris Litteraturæ* at Halle.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

THE ENGLAND AND HOLLAND OF THE PILGRIMS. By the late HENRY MARTYN DEXTER, D.D., LL.D., and his Son, MORTON DEXTER. Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1905. Svo; pp. xii, 673. Price, \$3.50.

Most of the contents of this work, we are told in the Preface, were collected by the late Dr. Henry M. Dexter. "To this task he devoted much of his time for many years. Of Pilgrim descent and born almost within sight of Plymouth Rock, he desired to give to the world a more complete record than any which had been written of the religious and ecclesiastical movements in England that made the Pilgrims what they were, and of their emigration to Holland and their life there before they came to America. But he died in 1890, leaving his chosen task unaccomplished."

With the zeal of a dutiful love, however, as well as with consummate ability, a second generation of the Dexter family has carried to a fitting completion the noble undertaking begun so many decades ago by the greatest authority of the time in all matters pertaining to the history of Congregationalism. The chief credit for the book as it lies before us is due to the late author's son, Morton Dexter. He rewrote the first five chapters left him by his father in the crude form of a provisional draft, and edited the sixth and concluding chapter, contributed by Prof. Franklin B. Dexter, of Yale University.

The work is one that confers an unwonted honor upon American historiography. A vast literature has been minutely explored; archæological evidence of all sorts has been laboriously gathered in English and Dutch cities; a wealth of information pertaining to the economic, political, educational, social and religious life in the England and Holland of the Pilgrims is admirably distributed through the exceedingly valuable notes and made to give color and character to the comprehensive picture of the text: the most painstaking research is happily combined with critical acumen, judicial composure and fairness, and a very satisfactory degree of artistic skill in the presentation of the facts and the development of the theme. Here and there, it must be confessed, the pages are burdened with too affluent a material, and even without the extenuating circumstances usually found in his embarrassingly rich contributions, the style sometimes becomes rather heavy: animation and attractiveness are sacrificed to accuracy and thoroughness. In some portions of the volume, moreover, the writer's interest is so exclusively archæological and in others so one-sidedly biographical that the reader is tempted to question the propriety of phrasing the title in such big terms. We cheerfully confess that new light has been thrown into many a dark nook and corner of English Reformation history; but the emphasis might with greater advantage, we think, have been placed somewhat less strongly upon the merely archæological items of the story, interestingly as these are presented, and far more heavily upon those spiritual forces which after all, in the case of the Puritan development as in all other periods of history, are of primary and fundamental importance. But, taken as a whole, the book is the best treatment we have of the rise and early stages of Puritanism. The press-work is in keeping with the unusual excellencies of the author's achievement in this volume.

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

IV.—SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

THE USE OF THE SCRIPTURES IN THEOLOGY. The Nathaniel William Taylor Lectures for 1905. Given before the Divinity School of Yale University. By WILLIAM NEWTON CLARKE, D.D., Professor of Christian Theology in Colgate University. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1906. Pp. 170.

This latest book by Dr. Clarke, as the title tells us, contains the Taylor lectures for 1905, which were delivered before the Divinity School of Yale University.

The motive of these lectures is to vindicate a distinction between a "Christian element" in the Scriptures and a "non-Christian element," and thus to relieve Christian theology from the Scriptures as an external and infallible authority in religious knowledge, and to enable the Christian theologian to take a freer attitude toward the Bible than he could take if he accepted the Church's doctrine of the authority of Scripture.

There are four lectures. The first lecture discusses the "problem," and "shows how the wrong using of the Scriptures has wrought harm to Theology." By a wrong use Dr. Clarke means a use which submits to the Scriptures as an external authority in matters of religious knowledge; which use, we may remark in passing, was just the use our Lord and His Apostles made of the Old Testament. Dr. Clarke, however, maintains that such a use of the Scriptures is wrong, and moreover brings with it grievous burdens, such as the high doctrine of Inspiration, the necessity of making the Bible agree with itself, "the proof-text method" in theology, and a certain dependence on the results of historical criticism.

Before we turn to the second lecture, in which the author seeks to announce a principle which will relieve Christian Theology from these burdens, we must stop for a moment to call attention to certain questions which will inevitably arise in the mind of every careful reader of this first lecture.

To begin with, there is a certain amount of confusion of statement which is liable to mislead. Thus Dr. Clarke asks (p. 10) whether the Bible is "an equal book, to be received as teaching truth in all its parts." A few pages farther on, in discussing the above question, he makes the assertion that "for the purposes of theology the Scriptures are not of equal value throughout." Does any Christian theologian suppose that they are? Does anyone suppose that the books of Kings and Chronicles are as valuable to theology as the Gospel of John? But this is quite another matter from the question whether the Bible is to be received "as teaching truth in all its parts." We would do Dr. Clarke injustice, however, were we to suppose that he is guilty of a confusion of thought as well as of statement. For it becomes abundantly evident, as one reads on, that the statement that the Scriptures are not of equal value for theology rests upon the author's idea that they are not all equally true. In fact, he believes that much that is erroneous is mingled with the truth which they contain.

Still another matter calls for remark before we consider the author's position. He speaks of a "popular religious" view of the Bible as opposed to a "scholarly view." The former is the view that the Scriptures are absolutely authoritative in religious knowledge, because of the high doctrine of the divine influences which have entered into their production; the latter or "scholarly view" is that view which is able to discriminate between the true and the false in the Scriptures. Now this characterization of these two views of the Bible is quite misleading. It is quite true that the doctrine of the authority and infallibility of Scripture may be called a popular view in the sense that it is the view which the plain man has of his Bible. And the reason why he looks at his Bible in this way is because this so-called "popular religious" view is writ large upon the pages of his New Testament as the view which Christ and His Apostles held, and also because the

plain man goes to his Bible without any *a priori* assumptions which would necessitate his going through the Scripture with the purpose of eliminating parts of it. Moreover, it is also quite true that a host of modern scholars, while forced to admit that this high view of Scripture was the view of Christ and His Apostles, have, nevertheless, felt themselves compelled to give up this view. But Dr. Clarke's statement leaves on one the impression that, in speaking of a "popular religious" view and a "scholarly" view of Scripture, he means to imply that the former rests upon sentiment and tradition, and the latter upon evidence. If this is what is meant, then the statement is not only misleading but is also false. The evidence for the high view of Scripture is the evidence that Christ and His Apostles are trustworthy as teachers of doctrine, and this evidence is the evidence which indicates Christianity as a supernatural religion. This being the case, it is putting it somewhat mildly to say that the burden of proof rests upon the so-called "scholarly" view of Scripture. Dr. Clarke, however, is not one of those whose exegesis is so scientific, objective, and untrammelled that he is willing to admit that the "high" view of Scripture is the view of Christ and His Apostles, while rejecting it himself. For he tells us (p. 25) that no such claim is made by the Scripture writers, and that there is no proof of this view. This is a remarkable statement, and in making it Dr. Clarke sets himself in opposition to the results of the best scientific exegesis of modern times, whether it be rationalistic or evangelical; for it is quite generally admitted by the best modern exegesis, whether the exegete be of those who follow our Lord and His Apostles as doctrinal guides or of those who do not, that this high doctrine of Scripture was that held by our Lord and His Apostles.

We should like, if the limits of this notice permitted, to show that the Church's doctrine of the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures by no means necessitates the "proof-text method" in theology. Dr. Clarke thinks that it does, but we do not think that he has succeeded in showing that this is so. We should like also to discuss the question whether one who occupies Dr. Clarke's position is really independent to any degree of the results of historical criticism. But the limits of this notice compel us to pass on to the "principle" by which the true is to be separated from the false in Scripture.

This question is taken up in the second lecture which discusses "The Principle, or how theology in using the Scriptures must be loyal to the one great distinction that is found within them." This principle, briefly, is that "the Christian element in the Scriptures is the indispensable and formative element in Christian theology, and is the only element in the Scriptures which Christian theology is either required or permitted to receive as contributing to its substance." We quite agree with Dr. Clarke when he says (p. 55) that this principle calls for some defining. We ask with him, "Where in the Bible is the Christian element to be found?" "How much does it include?" "How is it to be distinguished and identified?" These questions Dr. Clarke admits are difficult ones, but he says that they can be answered. The Christian element in the Scriptures, he tells us, cannot be identified with the New Testament, or with the record of Christ's life, or even with the words of Jesus. These would be too external and too "local" tests. The test of what is Christian is internal, and is formulated by Dr. Clarke as follows (p. 56): "That is Christian which enters into or accords with the view of divine realities which Jesus Christ revealed." But how are we to determine what does thus accord, and what is therefore Christian? Dr. Clarke tells us that the Christian element is determined by a revelation of God which is a "power," "a life," "inspiring" us, "transforming" us. It is a "revelation in life, conveyed through experience." Dr. Clarke does not mean that this Christian experience or Christian consciousness is the source of Christian theology. It is that which enables us to pick out the Christian element, and to separate it from

the non-Christian element in the Scriptures. But this is a purely subjective standard for religious truth. It is a mistake to suppose that the teaching of Christ is thus made the standard. The norm of truth is rather a vague and indefinite view of God and spiritual things which is sifted out from our Lord's teaching after it has been put through the alembic of the Christian life and the Christian consciousness. And since there is no such thing as Christian consciousness in the abstract, it must of course be the consciousness of each individual who theologizes, whether it be Dr. Clarke or Pfleiderer or Harnack, to cite but a few examples.

That the Scriptures, including the teaching of Christ, are thus subjected to the Christian consciousness by Dr. Clarke can be seen from his statements. It is not by sifting out Christ's words and seeking to interpret them; he tells us rather that it is by a "spiritual vision," where "deep calls unto deep," that we are to discern what in the Bible is Christian. This, we repeat, is pure subjectivism and gives no objective standard of truth at all. Dr. Clarke, however, foresees that this objection will be made, and meets it simply by a flat denial and the affirmation that in this way alone can we get a true standard. He says (p. 73): "As to the removal of the objective standard of Christianity, I deny that our principle leaves us without such a standard. I affirm that by it alone can we obtain a true one. When we say that Christianity is a body of truth discerned by the powers that are given us for discernment of truth, have we not set forth a standard?" The obvious reply to this question is that of course we thus have a standard, but that it is a purely subjective one. And the assumption which underlies Dr. Clarke's statement shows that his standard is purely subjective. For he continues in the immediate context: "I am assuming, indeed, that we believe in the reality of large spiritual truth, discernible by human powers divinely influenced." By this Dr. Clarke evidently means, not that spiritual illumination enables us to understand the Scriptures, but that it is by spiritual illumination that we are to separate the true from the false in the Scriptures. But this, we repeat, is to subject and subordinate the Scriptures to the illuminated Christian consciousness. And this, we add, is to trust to a light that is not unmingled with darkness. Is there any reason in Scripture or out of Scripture to suppose that spiritual illumination removes all at once the noetic effects of sin? Is there any reason for hope that the spiritual blindness of the natural man is removed all at once by regeneration? We for our part can entertain no such hope, and we are forced to the conclusion that this "principle" of Dr. Clarke is after all a purely subjective and arbitrary one which will enable each Christian to select from the Bible, and even from the teaching of Jesus, just what pleases him. It is by a similar principle that Sabatier has fixed on the altruism in our Lord's teaching and named it Christianity, or made Christianity to consist in it. It is by similar "principles" that we have the Christianity of Pfleiderer or of Harnack, as contrasted with the Christianity of the New Testament. And if Dr. Clarke's Christianity contains more of the Gospel than does that of Sabatier or Pfleiderer or Harnack, it is in spite of his "principle" of using the Scriptures, and not because of it.

Having thus seen the nature of this "principle," perhaps we may dispense with following Dr. Clarke as he traces the results of its application. This he does in lectures three and four, which show respectively the negative and positive results for Christian theology of the application of this principle of using the Scriptures.

Princeton.

C. W. HODGE.

V.—PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

THE GARDEN OF NUTS. Mystical Expositions, with an Essay on Christian Mysticism. By the REV. W. ROBERTSON NICOLL, M.A., LL.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1905. Small 8vo; pp. x, 232.

This little volume contains a lecture delivered at the Glasgow Summer School of Theology in 1905 on Christian Mysticism, followed by perhaps a dozen brief expositions, reprinted from the *British Weekly*. Dr. Nicoll takes kindly to the mystical mood and maintains that Vaughn's *Hours with the Mystics*, while ahead of its time, was wholly inadequate as an exposition of Mysticism, and that Dr. Inge's book, though that of an able scholar, is too much devoted to the dogmatic side and is almost undisguisedly hostile in tone and spirit. Dr. Nicoll likes the theological comprehensiveness of Christian Mysticism, and illustrates its merits in this respect at some length in connection with the doctrines of the Atonement and of Scripture. "The mystic knows every Christian doctrine is profounder than it seems, that the mystery grows as the light grows, and that only in the heart and vision of God is there ultimate repose" (p. 52). The brief papers which follow are beautiful in form and delightfully devotional in spirit. They proceed on the broad presumption "that every delineation of the righteous is in the end a picture of the Lord Jesus Christ, and of him alone" (p. 111); and so, instead of eliminating the messianic element from the Old Testament, he sees it everywhere.

Trenton.

HENRY COLLIN MINTON.

THE WORK OF PREACHING. A Book for the Classroom and Study. By ARTHUR HOYT, D.D., Professor of Homiletics and Sociology in the Auburn Theological Seminary. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1905. Pp. viii, 355. Price, \$1.50.

In this volume, dedicated to the men of his classes, "who have helped to make teaching an increasing privilege and joy," the Auburn Professor of Homiletics has furnished a very useful and altogether admirable treatise on the "Work of Preaching." He has everywhere sought to be practical and helpful, adapting the few basal laws of oral and written discourse to the peculiar needs of the twentieth century pulpit. The maximum of individual liberty is guaranteed to every preacher, and the suggestions that crowd every page are marked by simplicity, candor and sanity. Dr. Hoyt rides no homiletic hobbies, but pleads, in several cases even against Phelps, for greater freedom of method in the pulpit. He has happily succeeded in enlivening even his most didactic paragraphs with striking illustrations, humorous comment, and appropriate testimonials from the great masters of the art of preaching, especially those of the last century in England and America. The style is fresh, epigrammatic, vigorous, and withal convincing with the force of plain common sense. Disclaiming all attempts at an original or even thorough discussion of homiletics as a science, but trying above all to teach men how to tell the gospel message to twentieth century hearers, whose confidence in the utility of the average sermon as a means of grace is likely to stand in a somewhat ominous relation to their profound insensibility to the sinfulness of their sin, Dr. Hoyt has said many excellent things that cannot but interest seminary students and also "busy men in the ministry, helping them to measure their work, and to renew their ideal of preaching and their faith in its power."

Princeton.

FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER.

THE GIST OF THE SERMON. An Old Message for Young Men. By REV. HERBERT C. ALLEMAN. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society. Svo, pp. 230.

This is a charming little book on the lessons of Ecclesiastes. It is as full of good things as an egg is full of meat. The comments presented on the various theories of life propounded by the inspired author are fresh and forceful, and the wealth of literary allusions, as well as the apt citations of striking illustrations from history and contemporary life, indicates on every page a fine culture. The literary quality of the work deserves special mention. It possesses distinction of style—we think we are not praising too highly. It is very readable. The reader's attention is held to the very end. The average friend of the Bible, we suspect, will want to read every page after he has read the first paragraph. The author modestly states in the preface that the work is "based on the ground-plan of *The Quest of the Chief Good*, by Rev. Samuel Cox, D.D., the great English exegete"; but clearly enough of the author's own study and style are in evidence to forbid regarding his voice as an echo of another's message. The book is timely in view of the pessimistic spirit of our day. It is an excellent little study, and it cannot fail to prove suggestive and spiritually helpful to every thoughtful and open-hearted reader.

Cranford, N. J.

GEORGE FRANCIS GREENE.

CHRISTIANITY AND PATRIOTISM. With Pertinent Extracts from Other Essays. By COUNT LEO TOLSTOY. Translated by PAUL BORGER and Others. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. 1905. Paper covered. Pp. 98.

The chief of the essays which compose this little volume are "Christianity and Patriotism"; "Answer to the Riddle of Life" (translated by Ernest H. Crosby), and "Views on the Russo-Japanese War." Tolstoy probably impresses the average American thinker as having a decided strain of *queerness*; but he is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable men living, and we can recall no man on earth who in so large a sense may be said to have, in the name of Christianity, a message for the nations, for humanity. He is an extremist in his declaration of the doctrine of non-resistance; but the leaders of thought in Christian lands will do well to heed his words concerning the sinfulness of war, and to mark how easily and nobly he pricks the bubble of Chauvinism. We wish that every clergyman and especially every school-teacher in America would read the chapter which gives the title to this book.

Cranford, N. J.

GEORGE FRANCIS GREENE.

THE WESTMINSTER TEACHER TRAINING COURSE. Second Year. A Series of Forty Lessons, Designed for Use in Teacher Training Classes. Edited by J. R. MILLER, D.D. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. 1905. Pp vi, 115.

A neatly printed, paper-covered manual for use in teachers' classes in Presbyterian Sunday-schools. There are parts devoted to the study of the books of the New Testament; Church history; Christian doctrine; the work of soul-winning; Presbyterian church government and the Boards, and Christian service in the Sunday-school. Each of these parts is written by an expert. We have here milk for pedagogical babes in the Church, if the expression is permissible; but it is condensed milk, and of good quality. It would be well if every Presbyterian Sunday-school teacher were to possess a copy of the manual and master every paragraph of it.

Cranford, N. J.

GEORGE FRANCIS GREENE.

THE INSPIRATION OF OUR FAITH. Sermons. By JOHN WATSON, D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1905. 8vo, pp. 359.

A characteristic volume of twenty-nine sermons by the brilliant author of *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*. In literary quality and in spiritual feeling these sermons are of a very high order, and they will be welcomed by a large number who count themselves admirers of their distinguished author. There is one quality of Dr. Watson that reminds us of Bushnell: the suggestive and happy phrasing of his titles, e.g., "Jesus' Criticism of Emotion," "The Passion of God," "Worldliness a Frame of Mind," etc. But here the parallel ends; for while Dr. Watson has a lightness of touch that Bushnell lacked, the stream of his thought is not so deep—he lacks the originality of our great American divine. Dr. Watson seems to hate logic as an instrument of Biblical scholarship, and he loves to approach the treasure-house of Scripture with the feeling and method of the poet; but we sometimes wish he had sat for a year or two at the feet of Charles Hodge, who saw no inconsistency between the logic of correct thinking and the heart of a rich devotion. Sometimes we feel that our author approaches the border-line of error too closely for our comfort, as in his sermon on "Jesus' Appreciation of Morality," based on the text, "Then Jesus beholding him loved him." The idea is that Jesus loved the man because of the good that was in him. We quote: "When Jesus considered this young man's life the Master loved him, and He did not love what was not good." Are we to understand, then, that the Father of the Prodigal loved his son because of the latter's goodness; and in the light of the teaching that "God commendeth his love toward us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us," are we to hold that intrinsic moral excellence in man is the basis of God's grace? Probably Dr. Watson would not have his words carry this implication; but now and again in his brilliant sentences, as here, we seem to detect at least the suggestion of a false note.

Cranford, N. J.

GEORGE FRANCIS GREENE.

CHRISTUS LIBERATOR. An Outline Study of Africa. By ELLEN C. PARSONS, M.A. Introduction by SIR HARRY H. JOHNSTON, K.C.B. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1905. 8vo, pp. 309.

This is the fifth volume of the series issued by the Central Committee of the Women's Boards on the United Study of Missions. To cover in manuals of 300 pages the civilization, religion and missions of such countries as India and China was a difficult task, but that seems easy compared with Miss Parsons' brave venture of compassing vast and diversified Africa in a like space. One wonders what method of omission or compression the author will adopt in the making of the little volume that must be at once a comprehensive text-book and sufficiently readable to interest. The Introduction upon the Geography, Races and History of Africa by Sir Harry H. Thompson and the body of the book by Miss Parsons are in marked contrast. The former, who has been allowed more than his share of the pages, contributes a thoroughly scientific and most valuable treatise; but it is dry and profitable only through careful study with a better map than the poor affair the book provides. The latter does not give a scientifically constructed narrative of missions. Having thoroughly mastered the many-sided subject for herself, she gives the reader in a rapid survey the impression, the salient and typical incidents, and especially acquaintanceship with the notable personages of Africa's history, missions and native Church. The book is alive with missionary spirit.

The writer's point of view is expressed in the title, *Christus Liberator*. It is Africa in bondage to ignorance, superstition, fear, greed and political ambitions; and in process of redemption from all these by the Christ through varied instru-

mentalities, but especially through missions. The writer displays the optimism of faith. The book may not prove entirely satisfactory as a text-book; it is sure to be a valuable contribution to the awakening of a broad, comprehensive and sympathetic view of Africa and its woes, and of missions as a heroic and ever more promising deliverance from them. A well-made Table of Societies, Bibliography and Index are appended.

Princeton.

PAUL MARTIN.

MANUAL FOR COMMUNICANTS' CLASSES. Prepared by Direction of the General Assembly by J. R. MILLER. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath-school Work. 1905. 12mo, pp. 42. 10 cts.

The *Manual* owes its origin to the conviction, general to the ministry, that those uniting with the Church should do so more intelligently than is the wont, and that a single conference of a few minutes with the Pastor and Session is not sufficient for the necessary instruction. The wholesome custom of holding communicants' classes is growing and should be encouraged. The well-known author of books of devotion and practical religion is peculiarly fitted to supply the outline of the matter to be considered in such classes. For the training needed is spiritual and practical—not the formal mastery of so much Scripture, Catechism or Creed as the condition of admission to the communion. The six lessons have for their subjects: What Christ is to us; What it is to be a Christian; Helps—means of grace; Why unite with the Church? Duties of a Church Member; The Lord's Supper. The treatment is simple, Scriptural and sympathetic. Where classes are precluded the booklet will prove suggestive to ministers in dealing with candidates, and is very suitable to put into the hands of candidates themselves.

Princeton.

PAUL MARTIN.

BREAD AND SALT FROM THE WORD OF GOD. In Sixteen Sermons by THEODOR ZAHN, Theol.D., Hon. Litt.D. (Cambridge), Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen. Translated by C. S. BURN and A. E. BURN, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1905. Svo, pp. 306.

These sermons are selected from those preached during a long service as University preacher, and so are typical of the honored German New Testament scholar, teacher and author who preached them. In form, at least, they bear the characteristics which distinguish the German from the English and American pulpits. The sermons are almost uniformly introduced by an allusion to the day of the Church year upon which they are delivered; and if the text or theme is not chosen in association with the day, it is in some way brought into connection with it. The claim is often made that adherence to a Church year serves to secure attention to a wider range of truth than is likely to be presented by those pulpits which leave the choosing of the theme to the personal inclination of the preacher. The examination of this volume confirms the impression made by frequent attendance upon Church services in Germany, that this is not the case—that, indeed, it tends to narrow the range of truth presented. The sermons are also typically German in the simplicity of their structure, and in their lack of illustration and of reference to the concrete in Bible narrative and life which makes them seem slow and heavy to the more vivacious and practical American. On the other hand, they are typical of the German sermon also in their steadfast purpose to present the central, fundamental doctrines of faith. In hearing a certain type of modern German preaching one cannot escape the apprehension that the unvaried presentation of the general aspects of faith is the result of uncertainty as to particulars of revelation and doctrine. This is not the case with the preach-

ing of Dr. Zahn. He emphasizes repeatedly his full acceptance of Scripture. But in that Scripture Jesus Christ is to him the centre and soul of all. In choosing the sermons for publication he has, consciously or unconsciously, selected those which present Him as the centre and heart of Christian truth; and his constant effort is to bring his hearers, as sinners, into vital relation with Him who is the divine Saviour and Lord.

Princeton.

PAUL MARTIN.

BACK TO BETHLEHEM. Modern Problems in the Light of the Old Faith. By JOHN WILEY, Ph.D. New York: Eaton & Mains. 1905. Svo, pp. 286.

The author displays an easy familiarity with literature, science, history and philology, and makes allusions thereto with a poetic grace that give his paragraphs the interest of surprise and suggestiveness. This wide culture and observation is utilized in the presentation of modern themes and questions in philosophy, ethics and religion, with the purpose of showing that Jesus, and the truth as it is in Him, are their solution. Some of his chapter headings are: The Survival of the Fittest, Environment, Militarism, The Evolution of the Book. The theological attitude is in general evangelical, with a strong antipathy to Calvinism, and is at times decidedly progressive. But these are essays, not theological treatises or even sermons, and judged as such they have value in the direction of their title. A lack of proper relevancy and coördination in the interesting material so readily gathered to hand detracts from the discussions, and tends to render the single sentence and the paragraphs more interesting than the chapters as a whole.

Princeton.

PAUL MARTIN.

GIVEN TO GOD. A Memento of the Day of Baptism. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. 1905. Pp. 15. 25 cts.

A finely printed booklet in white and gilt, containing an Order for the Administration of Baptism to Infants, a Certificate of Baptism, appropriate quotations and a Register for the friends present at the baptismal service. The order is that given in the Report to the General Assembly of 1905 of the Committee on Forms and Services, who have made John Knox's Book of Common Order the basis of their arrangement.

Princeton.

PAUL MARTIN.

SABBATH LAWS IN THE UNITED STATES. By R. C. WYLIE, D.D. With an Introduction by the Rev. S. F. SCOVEL, D.D. Svo; pp. viii, 240. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Office of The National Reform Association, 209 Ninth St. 1905.

This book is "a compilation and analysis of the Sabbath laws in the United States." "It has been carefully and even laboriously prepared, with diligent comparisons of legal texts and discriminating choice of the most important material in the various decisions and situations." Temperate and judicious criticism of the different kinds of Sabbath legislation directs the attention of the reader to what is most worthy of consideration or most in need of amendment, while still allowing the laws to speak for themselves. Two admirable chapters are added on "The Fivefold Basis for Sabbath Laws" and on "The Ultimate Ground of Sabbath Laws." The book closes with an Index which enables one to turn at once to any law, decision or discussion in the volume.

We cannot congratulate the author too heartily on his work. As Dr. Scovel remarks, "it is unique and without precedent in its comprehensiveness." As the reviewer would add, the care and judgment with which it has been prepared

leave nothing to be desired. The "map showing the character of the Sabbath laws in the United States" is specially valuable. From this we learn, that two States and one Territory, California, Idaho and Arizona, have no Sabbath laws; that twenty-three others have "laws weakened by numerous exceptions," among these States being the home of Puritanism, Massachusetts; and that twenty-three more have very "strong laws," in this class being found even Utah and the Dakotas. The conclusions reached by Dr. Wylie are most significant. Only a few of them can be stated:

1. "The character of our Sabbath laws is better than many people have thought."

2. "Modern tendencies are not all away from the Sabbath of the Bible; some States have recently improved their laws, and some of the recent judicial opinions are among the best."

6. "The civil courts can generally be relied upon to maintain the law; some of the best things said in defense of the Sabbath have been said by the courts."

9. "Both State and United States Courts have gone beyond the provisions of any written Constitution in maintaining Sabbath laws; this is especially the case in declaring that the law rests upon divine authority."

10. "The Constitutions of the several States and the Constitution of the United States should be so amended as to set forth the fact of divine authority, and not leave it for the courts alone to proclaim it. The courts need a Constitutional warrant for so doing."

11. "The Sabbath question makes it clear that a separation of Church and State does not mean a separation of religion and State."

13. "Our free government would be impossible without our Christian civilization; our civilization is produced and perpetuated by the Christian religion; the Christian religion cannot exist without the Christian Church; the Christian Church would languish and die without assemblies for public worship; assemblies for worship are impossible without a day of rest; a day of rest needs the protection of statute law; the statute law should rest on a Constitutional provision; the Constitutional provision should rest upon and acknowledge the authority of God."

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

CHRISTIANITY AND SOCIALISM. By WASHINGTON GLADDEN. New York: Eaton & Mains. 12mo, pp. 244. \$1.00.

Dr. Gladden declares in his prefatory note that this book has much to say about Christianity and something about Socialism. The reviewer has the impression that the reverse is true. The book is made up of five lectures given before the students of Drew Theological Seminary. The first is upon the "Sermon on the Mount as the Basis of Social Reconstruction." The lecturer lays the supreme emphasis upon the individual. "The wise preacher always preaches to individuals. There is no such thing as a corporate mind, that he knows anything about or can intelligently address." The basis of the relation of men is not economic but social. God is the Father of all men, and the chief relationship of man is not to things but to his brother man. With this as fundamental, Dr. Gladden discusses "Labor Wars," "The Program of Socialism" and "The True Socialism" in the three following lectures. He lays down the proposition that because man has conceived his fundamental relation as economic, we have today a condition of warfare in the economic world. Trusts are organized to crush the labor unions, and labor unions are organized to master the trusts. How this brings evil we all know. The author declares both organizations legitimate and necessary. But both must come with a different spirit than that of gaining *things*, if the real purpose of organization be accomplished. The triumph of

either would be ruinous. The program of the ordinary Socialistic agitator is untenable. There must be a combination of Individualism and Socialism in the best society. "The spirit of true Socialism is manifest in the habit of regarding our work, whatever it may be, as a social function." Toward this ideal the body of Socialists are moving. By this great principle every man must determine both the line and the method of his lifework. "The great thing to be done is not to reconstruct the social machinery, but, as a wise man has expressed it, 'to socialize the individual.'" Thus the lecturer ends where he began, in laying chief stress upon man as the unit of improved social life.

The last lecture is but loosely connected with the rest of the book. It is chiefly a recount of recent gains and setbacks in municipal reform, with the thought under it all that the citizen must bear the blame for failures as well claim credit for the gains. On the whole, the book commands high respect for its clear presentation and its courageous moral tone. It faces facts without wincing and offers sincerely a solution for the hard problems of the world—the only solution that will ever be a success—the regeneration of the individual. But it goes a step farther than many preachers of the same gospel dare to go. It would be well if more theological students could hear such a presentation of the problems they must face as pastors. The declining power of the Church among the common people would be less lamented if more pastors had the courage and energy of Dr. Gladden in facing and grappling with the same sort of problems which have called out prophets of righteousness in every age of the world.

Princeton.

W. B. SHEDDAN.

THOUGHTS FOR THE KING'S CHILDREN. By A. PERCIVAL HODGSON. New York: Eaton & Mains. 16mo, pp. 221. 75 cents.

The author here presents a number of brief sermons to children. He says that he gets the children to come to church by the use of these sermonettes. He must have exceptional children. They have our sympathy. Evidently they know all about the stories of the Bible; for in this collection of scraps no use is made of Biblical literature except as a source for mottoes for the sermons. But the preacher thinks the Bible is a remarkable book. In the opening sentence of the first sermon he says that it is the first book "to be printed." A few lines farther on he says that nine-tenths of the people read the Bible. Probably both these statements were news to his young auditors; certainly they are to some of the rest of us. In speaking of the 119th Psalm he says that it has twenty-six parts, which is a revelation to students of either the English or Hebrew Bible. Most of us find only twenty-two. Again, we read that two mites equal a farthing, "which is in our money one-fourth of a penny"—a fact no American banker has ever discovered. But light is thrown on psychology here too; for we are told that "Good children find God much nearer than the clouds." Then this preacher to children also sets new models in English before them. He speaks of a telescope mounted "so it will turn round easy;" while a boy is met who "received an accident," and a peacock, on the tongue of this new master in language, becomes "a gentleman bird" as distinguished from the hen, which must of course be a lady bird. But enough. The chief value of this book is to show "how not to do it." It is a crying shame that this mass of incorrect statements, bad grammar, tangled paragraphs and vapid nonsense should be inflicted upon the children under the excuse of preaching to them.

Princeton.

W. B. SHEDDAN.

CHRIST AND MEN: By D. J. BURRELL, D.D., 12mo, pp. 288. New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co. Price, \$1.20.

This book is made up of a series of sermons on important truths conveyed in the conversations of Jesus. The purpose of the author has been to make these

truths as clear and convincing as possible to the average man. He has been called to task by a learned critic for his air of "cocksureness"; and the point, in our judgment, is well taken. So far as he has doubts or misgivings, he scrupulously keeps them to himself. He seems to be of Goethe's mind: "Do not tell me your doubts; I have enough of my own. If you believe anything, tell me that." The world is overburdened with ifs and perhapses; it needs the positive teaching of Christ. His conversations ring with verities. It is safe for a preacher to lean hard on His authority; and there is no danger of oversureness so long as he can speak on this wise, "Remember the word of the Lord Jesus, how he said unto you."

New York.

D. J. BURRELL.

REAL SALVATION AND WHOLE-HEARTED SERVICE. By R. A. TORREY. 8vo, pp. 267. New York, Chicago, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Co. London and Edinburgh, 1905.

Direct, logical, pointedly illustrated and breathing intense earnestness, these sermons cannot fail to arrest the attention of even the spiritually indifferent reader, and are likely to do so for his soul's good.

The book is especially valuable to those who would lead others to the Christ whom they have found.

Newport.

RICHARD ARNOLD GREENE.

THE EYE FOR SPIRITUAL THINGS. AND OTHER SERMONS. By HENRY MELVILLE GWATKIN, M.A., D.D., Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; also Gifford Lecturer, Edinburgh. New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Cloth, 261 pages. Price, \$1.50 net.

These sermons are a model of concise, clear English, graceful expression, thoughtfulness and distinctness of aim. The writer evinces the broadest culture, together with the "spiritual insight" which is the theme of the first sermon. The author reveals a possibly unnecessary desire to avoid the suspicion of "orthodoxy," and expresses the conventional fear of the dread spectre of "conservative theology." He suggests reason as the seat of authority in religion. He indicates a moral theory of the atonement, and decisively declares that punishment is not to be eternal. On the other hand, he stands boldly for the deity and the resurrection of Christ; for the necessity of faith and of repentance; for the resurrection of the body and the immortality of the soul. In the sermon on "The Prophecy of Caiaphas" there is a striking statement of the existing unity of the Christian Church; in the sermon "Christ is God" there is a clear declaration of the divinity of our Lord; while the doctrine of the resurrection is ably defended in the sermons on I Cor. xv. 23, and Luke xx. 38. The exact position of the writer is definitely suggested in his prefatory note: "These are scattered words on many subjects, but their central thought is this: Christ our Saviour came to destroy nothing at all, save the works of the devil. The knowledge of God is not to be earned by sacrificing reason to feeling or feeling to reason, by ascetic observance or orthodox belief; it is given freely to all who profess this with all the force of heart and soul and mind. Further, the only power that can bring feeling, thought and will into harmonious action is the personal influence of Christ, which St. Paul sums up in faith. From that personal influence all holy desires, all good resolutions and all just works do proceed, though the doers be those who never heard His Name; and to its transfiguring power, if it be rightly received, no limit can be set even in this life."

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

LITERARY ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE BIBLE: THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MARK AND THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS. Edited by the Rev. JAMES MOFFATT, D.D. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Pages 104, 131.

These minute and tasteful little volumes are designed, as their title indicates, to throw light upon the Scriptures by extracts from the field of general literature; yet they are also intended to show the use made by masters of literature of the texts suggested for treatment. The writer sets forth this aim in the introduction to each of the volumes. "I have set down passages of verse and prose in which some text of this book of the Bible has been used or applied in what appears to be a forcible or notable manner. . . . In the second place, I have admitted passages which develop aptly and freshly, not the words, but the idea of the Bible verse. It is hoped that both classes of illustrations may prove interesting to the ordinary reader by enlarging the association and eliciting the significance of the Bible." The authors quoted cover a remarkably wide range, from Shakespeare, Tennyson and Browning to Walt Whitman and Maxim Gorky. The passages of the Scripture to which reference is made are usually very brief, often no longer than a mere phrase, generally consisting of a single verse. They are arranged in their Biblical order. The quotations are in no case trite or commonplace. Some of them are striking and illuminating. While these books will be of interest to the average reader, they will prove of special help to preachers and teachers. These two volumes are part of a larger series which also includes the Book of Ecclesiastes, the Book of Daniel, the Gospel of St. Luke, the Epistle to the Romans, and the Book of Revelation.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT IN ITS RELATION TO THE NEW LIFE IN JAPAN. Published for the Standing Committee of Coöperating Christian Missions. Tokyo: Methodist Publishing House. Paper, 267 pages.

THE UNION MOVEMENT AMONG THE CHURCHES. By the Rev. G. W. FULTON, of the American Presbyterian Mission. Tokyo: Methodist Publishing House. Paper, 80 pages.

These two volumes, the latter of which appears in the form of a supplement, are full of interest in suggesting the great progress which has been made and the success which attends the Union Movement among the Christians of Japan. It becomes more and more evident that the denominational differences which separate Christians in America and in England are being removed or disregarded by those who are laboring in the "foreign field." While it is true that Christian missions have been criticised because of the different societies which were at times represented on the field, the time for such criticism has surely passed by and we are apparently facing a new condition, in which comity and coöperation will increasingly prevail.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR MANUAL, 1906. By J. R. MILLER and AMOS R. WELLS. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press.

This brief pocket manual has already been of great service to our young people during the opening months of the present year. It is to be most cordially commended to every member of the Young People's Societies of our churches. It is admirably arranged and carefully prepared. Under the general topic for each week are suggested "Bible Lessons for Daily Reading"; then follow "Bible Hints," in which reference is made to special verses, which are illustrated to throw light upon the main theme. Then follow "Suggestive Thoughts,"

which are brief and pithy sayings by the editors. A few "Illustrations" are then introduced, and then "A Cluster of Quotations"; and last of all in connection with each topic is a paragraph of "Practical Suggestions for Christian Endeavor Work," which are intended particularly for new members, for chairmen of committees, and for officers of the societies. Special attention should also be called to the "Christian Study Course" which is outlined at the close of the *Manual*, and which suggests the admirable list of subjects and text-books prepared by the General Assembly's Permanent Committee on Young People's Societies.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Report of the Foreign Missions in China, Formosa, The Straits Settlements and India. 1905. Paper, 87 pages.

This report to the Synod gives a vivid and carefully prepared summary of the great work which has been accomplished during another year by the Presbyterian Church of England in the fields specified. The book is well illustrated and provided with numerous maps. It indicates a hopeful and aggressive spirit in missionary service.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

VI.--GENERAL LITERATURE.

LITERATURE: ITS PRINCIPLES AND PROBLEMS. By THEODORE W. HUNT, Ph.D., Litt.D. 1 vol., xxiv, 403. New York and London: Funk & Wagnals. 1906.

Prof. Hunt divides his volume into two parts, the first treating of the Definition, Principles and Relations of Literature; the second being devoted mainly to an analysis of the various types and forms of literary expression. The discussion as a whole is notable for its penetration, the scope of its acquaintance with the body of literature and the general sanity of its judgments. The topics of the first part are more general than are those of the second, and will not, perhaps, have the same interest for the general reader. The author devotes himself in the first chapter to a statement of the principles which should determine the point of view, method and spirit of literary production and criticism. He then goes on to review the various definitions that have been proposed, reaching as the outcome the following: "Literature is the written expression of thought, through the imagination, feelings and taste, in such untechnical form as to make it intelligible and interesting to the general mind." In the two following chapters the method and scope of literature are discussed, the author advocating the application in literature of the method of scientific induction. Prof. Hunt then enters the field of relations, dealing in successive chapters with such topics as Literature and Philosophy, Literature and Politics, Ethics, Language, the Arts and Literature and Life. This section closes with a chapter on The Mission of Literature. The treatment of the problems here displays the author's well-known scholarship and acumen. The relations involved are handled with rare good judgment and in a philosophical spirit. One of the delicate topics with which the discussion deals in this section is that of the place and function of the ethical judgment in literature. The author quotes approvingly the demand of Vinet, that "the poet be true and do not interest himself in vice," a demand that might very easily be misapplied, since we cannot prohibit the producer of literature from interesting himself in any real phase of human experience. There is a tendency in some quarters to overwork the ethical judgment in literature, as, for instance, when all literature is required to be not

only pure in spirit but also in the matter of its representation. Thus Plato for moral and pedagogical reasons advocated such an expurgation of Homer as would, if carried out, have reduced the Iliad to a sort of Hellenic prototype of Tupper's *Proverbial Philosophy*. I do not understand that Prof. Hunt has the least sympathy with such a position. His controversy with the maxim, "Art for Art's sake," is only with the extreme claim that literature as art has nothing whatever to do with ethics. This may be true in a sense, but the writer of literature is a man or a woman who as such is amenable to moral law, and thus the moral judgment imposes itself, not as a constructive principle, but as a regulative principle upon his work. In its spirit and ideals literature should be pure and moral. This I understand to be Prof. Hunt's contention, and with such a plea I apprehend most men would agree. In this connection also we note as timely the author's arraignment of the literature of the present for its widespread indifference to high ideals and aims, so many of our literary producers preferring to use the "muck-rake" when by looking up they might catch a vision of the stars.

In the second part of the volume Prof. Hunt analyzes for us the different types and forms of literature. This is a rich field and the reader is repaid with the treasures of an extensive and accurate scholarship and the reflection of years. The author is no literary dogmatist but recognizes the many open questions in literature, and his treatment of them is sane and rational. The issue which Matthew Arnold raised between Hebraism and Hellenism in literature is impartially handled, and we are glad to be assured by so competent authority that there is a plenty of literature lying outside of both these charmed circles. Those who are not ambitious to be either Jews or Greeks will be glad to know that Hebraism and Hellenism combined do not quite exhaust the whole Divine patrimony.

In his final chapter Prof. Hunt makes an eloquent plea in behalf of a larger place for English in our courses of liberal study. His contention is not in the narrow spirit of mere partisanship, nor does he take up the ancient quarrel between the modern languages and the Latin and Greek. He concedes the value of the ancient classics and only pleads that English shall hold a coördinate place with these, as an instrument of discipline and culture. In closing the writer wishes to express his high personal appreciation of Prof. Hunt's book. It is full of strong meat and is itself good literature. It bears an interesting and valuable message to the general reader as well as to the specialist. Its sane and wholesome judgments on a variety of topics ought to be very helpful in keeping the student from wandering into the byways or falling into the pitfalls that beset his path.

Princeton.

ALEXANDER T. ORMOND.

ESSAYS IN APPLICATION. By HENRY VAN DYKE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 12mo, pp. 282.

In this book Dr. Van Dyke essays to apply his philosophy to a number of problems. He warns us that we are not to expect a complete scheme of either philosophy or faith within the compass of the dozen discussions of various current conditions, all expressed in the mellifluous manner of this modern master of English. They range over a wide field, but centre about books, education and social questions. The least notable is the essay on "Publicomania," which strikes a distinctly lower note than the rest of the volume. The highest point of the book is the essay on "The Heritage of American Ideals," with "The Ruling Class in a Democracy" and "The Powers that Be" crowding close upon it. In his initial essay Dr. Van Dyke declares himself a meliorist; but evidently a meliorist does not believe that a republic grows in power because of the evils of boss rule and the corruption inherent in the spoils system. The same is true in the discussion

of "The Church in the City" and "Property and Theft." Here the essayist's meliorism permits him to declare that the church "may well have a soup-kitchen, if it is needed; but the church ought never to be a soup-kitchen." And again: "A city church will not run long on the momentum of the past, nor survive many years on a reputation. It must succeed or die." In the argument against property being theft, Dr. Van Dyke concerns himself largely with the Biblical view of property. His conclusion is that "Christianity requires two things from every man: first, to acquire his property by just and righteous means; and, second, to look not only on his own things but also on the things of others." Some of us would wish that the author had essayed to apply this concretely to modern conditions of life. In the "Flood of Books" and the "School of Life" our professor finds himself on his familiar ground. He declares that the itch to write is not confined to any class or time, and that the longing for a publisher is a symptom of the same malady which affected the writer of Ecclesiastes and led him to rush into public with a somewhat famous plaint about books. In the closing essay, "The School of Life," one is touched by the lofty idealism which makes all life a school, a discipline, for the things just beyond. Taken as a whole, the book seems hardly up to the mark of Dr. Van Dyke's best work, yet abounding in cheering, uplifting, hopeful thoughts, in a literary setting as exquisite and graceful as our great master Irving himself could have used.

Princeton.

W. B. SHEDDAN.

THE DIVINE TRAGEDY. A Drama of the Christ. By PEYTON HARRISON HOGE. New York, Chicago, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1905. 8vo, pp. 146.

Experience has taught us to look upon a modern extended religious poem askance, especially if its title is ambitious. The book in hand was received for review with expression of regret, but its first pages awakened a presentiment that the regret might not be justified, and the poem once begun was read eagerly to the close. The author, who is a Presbyterian pastor at Louisville, Ky., has our congratulations upon his work, and we will be glad if we may do something to widen the circle of those who will find pleasure and profit in the reading of it.

The theme is the story of the Christ from the opening of the last, fateful week to the ascension. In the Foreword the author asks to be permitted to forestall a certain class of criticism by saying that neither from the title or the form would he be understood to aspire to a place among the poets. His ambition is the more modest yet higher aim to tell in the most vivid and practical form, for men living in the world to-day, the story of Jesus of Nazareth in its culminating scenes. Having called attention to our increased knowledge of Jesus' environment embodied in scholarly treatises and *Lives of Christ*, it is added: "But it seemed to the writer that it might be possible to take a further step, and by the careful study of the Gospel material in the light of these treatises, and by a personal and loving familiarity with the Land and City of our Lord's life and labor, to project the Gospel narratives upon their historic background, in an imaginary reconstruction of the scenes that culminated in the Tragedy of Calvary. This suggests and requires the dramatic form—not, of course, with any view to representation upon the stage, but as the only form that eliminates discussion and preaching—that reduces description to its simplest and, at the same time, to its most definite terms, and that presents the characters of the story to speak and act in their own proper persons."

The performance exceeds the promise of the Foreword. The settings for the successive scenes, based upon accurate archæological study, give in a few words vivid pictures of the localities. The chronology receives careful attention. The usual dating is occasionally departed from, as in the assigning of the feast in the

house of Simon (John xii. 1) to the evening following the Sabbath, and passages from earlier narratives are used in the construction of the imagined conversations. On the other hand, scholarly care is exhibited in the sequence of the events of the trial, crucifixion and subsequent appearances. The portrayal of the Paschal meal observed with the prescribed liturgy, the unfolding of the events and the exhibition of the motives in the Trial and the Crucifixion are especially well done. The blank verse is smooth and rhythmical, and it is a matter of constant surprise that the versification has not necessitated the slightest change from the wording of the Gospels. The imaginary passages are finely conceived and answer accurately the spirit of the historical occasions to which they are ascribed. The treatment is uniformly dignified and most reverent, and the book is laid down with a consciousness of a clearer vision, a fuller valuation and a deeper love of the Christ who gave himself for us on the cross.

Princeton.

PAUL MARTIN.

THE UPTON LETTERS. By T. B. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1905. 8vo, pp. 335.

These letters, dated in 1904 from Upton, England, are addressed by an English schoolmaster to an invalid friend in Madeira. It is possible that they are more carefully prepared essays cast in the form of letters; but they have the verisimilitude of real correspondence with names disguised, and we accept them as such. They were published, at the suggestion of the recipient, after his death. "Their interest arises from the time, the circumstance, the occasion that gave them birth, from the books read and criticised, the educational problems discussed; and thus they form a species of comment on a certain aspect of modern life." It is refreshing to know that in this hurried, materialistic age such private letters, ignoring trivialities, dealing with the deeper aspects of life and work, giving expression to thought upon things usually seen only superficially, and yet without pedantry and in a genial vein, are still written. They are an exposition of real culture. The schoolmaster is in love with his vocation, and what he has to say about the psychology and religion of boys and of the treatment and preaching best fitted to meet their needs is with the authority of one who knows whereof he speaks. The volume is commended as at once recreative and instructive.

Princeton.

PAUL MARTIN.

THE DIVINE MAN. A New Epic. By JOSEPH WARE. Mechanicsburg, Ohio. The True Light Publishing Co. 1905. 8vo, pp. 278.

"The theme of this poem is progressive creation and the coronation of the highest life in man." The argument is founded on the narrative of the Transfiguration; and in a supposititious conversation Moses, Elijah and the Apostles review all events from the dawn of creation, through the life of our Lord, to the final triumph of redemptive Love. The author's imagination takes the widest flights, soaring to the most distant worlds. He feels himself conscious of a special call and inspiration for this work, and hopes for much from it as the basis of universal religious unity.

Princeton.

PAUL MARTIN.

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